



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Wednesday
29 May 1991

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CONTENTS

29 May 1991

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

EAST AFRICA

Ethiopia

EPLF Takes Aseb; 'Little Resistance' Reported [AFP]	1
EPRDF, OLF Take Welega Province Town [Voice of the Ethiopian People]	1
Rebels Report Government Losses at Dembi Dolo [Voice of Oromo Liberation]	1
Rebels Take Debre Zeyit Air Base [AFP]	1
Soldiers, Civilians Flee Aseb to Djibouti [Paris International]	1
EPRDF Orders Troops To Enter Capital [AFP]	2
Government Soldiers 'Uncontrollable' in Capital [AFP]	2
Oromo Rebels Claim To Capture Five Towns [AFP]	2
EPRDF Spokesman on Addis Ababa Onslaught [London International]	2
Peace Talks Continue; Tesfaye Threatens Walkout [London PRESS ASSOCIATION]	3
Rebels Make Announcements to Addis Ababa Citizens [Addis Ababa Radio]	4
Presidential Guard Units Reportedly Hold Out [AFP]	4
Tesfaye Pulls Out of London Peace Talks [London PRESS ASSOCIATION]	4
Rebels To Set Up Transitional Government [AFP]	4
Rebels Capture Ministries, Army Headquarters [AFP]	5
EPRDF Leader's News Conference Reported [London International]	5
Harerge Army Wants Cooperation With EPRDF [Addis Ababa Radio]	6
Tesfaye Explains Peace Talks Pullout [London International]	6
OLF Criticizes U.S. Support for EPRDF [London International]	6
EPRDF Chairman Interviewed on Country's Future [London TV]	7
EPLF on Transitional Government, Independence [AFP]	8
'Relative Calm' Restored in Addis Ababa [London International]	8

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

Dos Santos Proposes Meeting With Soares [Luanda Radio]	10
Dos Santos Discusses Peace Process [Luanda Radio]	10
Dos Santos Gives News Conference in Huambo [Luanda Radio]	11
Savimbi on Economy, Relations With Portugal [Lisbon International]	13
Savimbi on Cuban Withdrawal, Cease-Fire [Voice of the Black Cockerel]	14
Savimbi Departs on Visit to Morocco, Portugal [KUP]	16
Preparations for Signing of Accord Under Way [Luanda Radio]	16
FAPLA, UNITA Commands Hold Second Meeting [Luanda Radio]	17
FAPLA, FALA Commands Meet 26 May [Luanda Radio]	17
FAPLA-FALA Team Disarms Four Mines [Luanda Radio]	17
Last Cuban Troops Depart 25 May [Luanda Radio]	17
Ministers Ratify Accord With World Bank [Luanda Radio]	17
* Independent Party Leader Urges Fair Elections [Lisbon PUBLICO 27 Apr]	18
* Public Expresses Opinion on Peace Talks	18
* 'New Alvor' Feared [Lisbon SEMANARIO 20 Apr]	18
* Indifference in Luanda [Lisbon EXPRESSO 27 Apr]	19
* UNITA Faces Several Integration Problems [Lisbon PUBLICO 1 May]	19
* Brazilians Help Create MPLA New Image [Lisbon PUBLICO 26 Apr]	20
* Experts Debate Dilemma of Forming One Army [Lisbon PUBLICO 29 Apr]	22
* Opposition Groups Debate Private Enterprise [Lisbon PUBLICO 25 Apr]	22

Mozambique

Government, Renamo Sign Accord on Working Agenda [London International]	23
Attack by 'Armed Bandits' Violates Rome Accord [Maputo Radio]	23
* World Bank Finances Imports of Korean Taxis [NOTICIAS 24 Apr]	23
* Red Cross Active in Renamo-Held Areas [NOTICIAS 24 Apr]	24
* Need To Develop Local Entrepreneurs Discussed [NOTICIAS 26 Apr]	25
* Portugal Launches Rural Development Projects [NOTICIAS 13 Apr]	25
* Nipepe Cut Off From Rest of Niassa Province [NOTICIAS 25 Apr]	26
* Gile District Undergoes Reconstruction [NOTICIAS 24 Apr]	27
* Commentaries: Concern Over Ethnic Tensions	28
* National Polarization [NOTICIAS 24 Apr]	28
* Fear Over 'Hidden' Tribalism [NOTICIAS 18 Apr]	29

Ethiopia

FPLF Takes Aseb; 'Little Resistance' Reported

AB2505165691 Paris AFP in French 1632 GMT
25 May 91

[Text] Addis Ababa, 25 May (AFP)—The port town of Aseb, the last major town held by government forces other than Addis Ababa, has fallen into the hands of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), it was learned from several concordant sources this evening in Addis Ababa.

According to these sources, Aseb, southwest of the Eritrean Province on the Red Sea, was taken during the day by EPLF rebels. The attack began at dawn, according to sources contacted in Nairobi. The EPLF launched its offensive by sea in fast patrol boats.

"The town is not too damaged owing to little resistance" from the defenders of the Ethiopian port, diplomatic sources explained.

EPRDF, OLF Take Welega Province Town

EA2605114891 (Clandestine) Voice of the Ethiopian People for Peace, Democracy, and Freedom in Amharic 0400 GMT 26 May 91

[Text] The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] and the Oromo Liberation Front [OLF] forces, by consolidating their forces, have liberated Dembi Dolo town [in Welega]. The EPRDF and OLF forces liberated the town of Dembi Dolo on 24 May, and the enemy force in the area was destroyed.

Organizations participating in the Dembi Dolo attack were the Oromo People's Democratic Organization, the Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement, and the Tigray People's Liberation Front forces from the EPRDF's member organizations. [words indistinct] The people of Dembi Dolo witnessed the swift and positive developments regarding relations between the EPRDF and the OLF.

Rebels Report Government Losses at Dembi Dolo

EA2605154591 (Clandestine) Voice of Oromo Liberation in Oromo 1000 GMT 26 May 91

[Excerpts] Western Oromia—The Oromo Liberation Army [OLA] fighting in western Oromia has carried out an action against the encircled enemy forces based in the three towns of (K'ache), (Ch'enka), and [words indistinct] due to their refusal to take advantage of the opportunity to surrender and their continuing habit of stealing from our people and raping the women. All the areas were liberated on 20 May. In the fighting carried out to liberate these places, 130 soldiers were killed while 143 others were wounded. Moreover, five soldiers surrendered with their arms and one was captured. Various types of property were captured and taken for the Oromo revolution.

The enemy forces escaped from several places and concentrated in Dembi Dolo, ignoring calls to surrender. The OLA and the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] force called on the Ethiopian Government force in Dembi Dolo town, K'elem Province, to save lives and the destruction of property. As the enemy force ignored the call, the joint OLA-EPRDF force has destroyed the enemy force. [passage omitted]

In the action carried out jointly by the two forces, the 28th Army Division was annihilated and the town of Dembi Dolo was liberated. In the operation, carried out on 24 May, heavy losses were inflicted on the enemy and their remaining soldiers were dispersed. A total of 1,396 soldiers were put out of action, of whom 743 were killed and 653 wounded, while 64 others were captured. In addition, three tanks, two 82-mm mortars, 18 trucks, eight small vehicles, four [word indistinct], five (?RPD's), 270 AK's [as heard], and many explosives and shells were also captured. [passage omitted]

Rebels Take Debre Zeyit Air Base

AB2605105591 Paris AFP in French 1036 GMT
26 May 91

[Text] Addis Ababa, 26 May (AFP)—This morning, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF, dominated by the Tigray rebels) took control of the Debre Zeyit air base, it was learned from diplomatic sources in Addis Ababa.

The EPRDF rebels took the air base, situated about 40 km southeast of the capital, where several dozen MiG-23 fighters had landed following fierce fighting, the sources added.

The EPRDF forces now control almost all the routes leading to Addis Ababa. Some of these routes are only about 10 km from the capital.

Soldiers, Civilians Flee Aseb to Djibouti

LD2605145991 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 26 May 91

[Excerpt] Ethiopia, consequences of the civil war: About 3,000 soldiers and many Ethiopian civilians fleeing the port of Aseb crossed the border into Djibouti this morning. This was witnessed by our correspondent Abdi Aden, whom we have just contacted by telephone:

[Aden] More than 4,000 people—Ethiopian soldiers and civilians—crossed the border [words indistinct] in the north of the Republic of Djibouti. They arrived on foot or by car, crossing the whole of the Aseb region as far as the Moulhoule desert. The flood of refugees is continuing at a regular rate. The military who have taken refuge at Moulhoule belonged to the (Kibirse) government force fighting in the Aseb region. The military—most of them tired and bewildered—are armed with Kalashnikovs and rocket launchers, and are also carrying their ammunition. Five wounded—three of them with serious bullet

wounds—have been evacuated to the (Pelletier) hospital in Djibouti. Among the refugees who arrived in Moulhoule are, in particular, the governor of Aseb, a general, and the admiral in command of the Aseb fleet. About 10 tanks and many armored and civilian cars could also be seen. According to an Ethiopian lieutenant, whom we were able to question, Aseb fell without the government forces opening fire. [passage omitted]

EPRDF Orders Troops To Enter Capital

*AB2705153091 Paris AFP in English 1528 GMT
27 May 91*

[Excerpt] London, May 27 (AFP)—The interim Ethiopian Government and rebel groups have agreed to a cease-fire in the country's 30-year civil war, the U.S. official mediating between the two sides announced here Monday.

The announcement from U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen was carried by two British television stations but a spokesman for the rebel Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) denied that a full cease-fire agreement had been reached.

The spokesman, Asefa Mamo, said the EPRDF leadership had ordered its troops to enter the capital Addis Ababa "with the understanding of the Americans" in order to stabilize the country and begin setting up a transitional government.

There were however contradictory reports on who had asked the EPRDF fighters to enter Addis Ababa, with the British Broadcasting Corporation saying that the move had been requested by the United States. The BBC report said that the cease-fire was to be announced formally in Addis Ababa. [passage omitted]

Government Soldiers 'Uncontrollable' in Capital

*AB2705172191 Paris AFP in French 1645 GMT
27 May 91*

[Text] Addis Ababa, 27 May (AFP)—Government soldiers are behaving in an uncontrollable manner in Addis Ababa, which has been plunged into darkness because of an electricity outage, and they have fired on the Hilton Hotel which hosts many journalists. A room on a high floor of the hotel was destroyed by machine gun or AK-47 fire, and a photographer's camera was smashed by a shot, it was observed.

While waiting for the rebels to enter the city, after having been invited to do so by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPDRF) spokesman in London, the soldiers of the regular army are selling everything they possess.

A pair of boots was selling at 30 birrs (\$1 = 2.05 birrs) and a Kalashnikov at 150 birrs. According to some information, the soldiers had taken to plundering in the capital.

Oromo Rebels Claim To Capture Five Towns

*AB2705205891 Paris AFP in French 1914 GMT
27 May 91*

[Text] Nairobi, 27 May (AFP)—The rebels of the Oromo Liberation Front, OLF, have stated that they have captured five Ethiopian towns and many villages near the border with Sudan. The rebels, who had captured the town of Dembi Dolo on 24 May, on 25 and 26 May seized the nearby towns of Tabor, Mugi, Chanka, Kake, and Kebe, their clandestine radio, monitored in Nairobi today, stressed. These towns are located about 60 km east of the Sudanese border.

According to their radio, the OLF troops have swept away the 28th Division of the Ethiopian Army, killing 743 government troops, wounding 653, and capturing 63 others. The radio gave no details on the OLF losses.

The OLF is one of the smallest Ethiopian rebel groups fighting the central authority in Addis Ababa, although it represents one of the most important ethnic groups numerically.

This announcement came while talks opened today in London and the rebels of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, the EPRDF, were entering Addis Ababa, the capital.

EPRDF Spokesman on Addis Ababa Onslaught

*AB2805115891 London BBC World Service in English
0630 GMT 28 May 91*

[Interview with Asefa Momo, London spokesman for the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, EPRDF, by Carolyn Dempster; place and date not given; from the "Network Africa" program—recorded]

[Text] We have, in fact, heard that the rebels, the EPRDF [Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front], claim to be holding all strategic sites in the city at the moment, including the radio station. Asefa Momo is their London spokesman. Carolyn Dempster asked him if it came as a surprise.

[Momo] Well, it was well planned, and the Supreme Council of the EPRDF has....[changes thought] gave an order to the Army to march to Addis when the Supreme Council received the message from inside that things were getting worse due to the Ethiopian Army's looting and misbehaving in the city.

[Dempster] Now we were told yesterday.... [changes thought] It was reported here in London that at the peace talks, Mr. Herman Cohen, who is the current mediator in the talks—he is the U.S. assistant secretary of state for Africa—suggested that the EPRDF might go into Addis to stabilize the situation. Did your movement plan to go in before this invitation was made, or after it?

[Momo] Well, to go into the city we were not waiting for any invitation actually. It was our decision, and we

informed the Americans, who were taking the initiative to mediate for a peaceful means, and, they were convinced, because through their own source they had also discovered that things were getting worse and worse, out of the control. The government doesn't exist; there were no structures, and the command was totally collapsed; therefore, it was our initiative that we informed the American officials and they welcomed it.

[Dempster] Now, surely this is going to have quite a dramatic effect on the peace talks in London. What is your next plan?

[Momo] We will talk with the American Government, the government officials, and with other organizations concerning the transitional government. As for the government issue, the delegates of the Ethiopian Government, we will rather say, are no more delegates of that government. That government doesn't exist.

[Dempster] So you say that there is no point in continuing having peace talks with an interim government that does not represent a constituency?

[Momo] Yes, it doesn't represent the constituency. At the same time it doesn't represent any organized party to our knowledge.

[Dempster] Can you tell me what the EPRDF plans to do next, now that it has control over the capital? There are some people who might say that there is no need for talks with any other party now that you have control over the capital city.

[Momo] The EPRDF has proposed the transitional government program three years ago, and our struggle and efforts for the last three years was to implement that. Even if the government didn't accept we will implement the transitional government, which consists of all other opposition groups who will be willing to join.

[Dempster] What role do you see for the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF]? I mean, they are looking, in the long term perhaps, to secede from Ethiopia. What is your perspective as regards their designs?

[Momo] It is up to the EPLF to decide this.

[Dempster] So you are not, in fact, prepared to push them in any particular direction; you are quite happy for them to lay down their requirements and to talk about them.

[Momo] We welcome if they decide to join the transitional government but, at minimum, we expect and we are sure that the EPLF will support the transitional government and they will be of great help in keeping the peace and stability, and to cooperate with that transitional government as much as possible, whether they join it or not.

Peace Talks Continue; Tesfaye Threatens Walkout

LD2805114391 London PRESS ASSOCIATION
in English 1115 GMT 28 May 91

[Report by Moira Whittle and Sian Clare]

[Excerpts] Talks aimed at establishing a transitional government to take control of war-torn Ethiopia went into their second day this morning with a major question mark hanging over the attendance of beleaguered Prime Minister Tesfaye Dinka. The Ethiopian premier threatened to abandon the talks, which follow the takeover of Addis Ababa and the virtual rout of government forces in the capital at dawn today, if rebels entered the city. [passage omitted]

The EPRDF [Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front] council said in a statement broadcast by its radio station and monitored by the BBC: "The EPRDF wants the continuation of the London peace conference so that a transitional government in which the various political forces can take part will be formed in Ethiopia."

But Middlesex polytechnic lecturer Dr Mammo Muchie, who claims to speak for thousands of Ethiopians in Europe, told the PRESS ASSOCIATION: "The Americans are doing a deal behind the backs of the Ethiopian people."

"What we want from the Americans is that they respect the unity of Ethiopia and that a real democratic process emerges as a result of these negotiations."

"It does not matter who is at the centre of power. What we are concerned about is the unity of the country. If you do not unite the country there will be more bloodshed. Devolution, yes, but fragmentation, no."

The peace talks marked the end of 30 years of civil war in famine-torn Ethiopia. The government's final collapse started a week ago, when Marxist military ruler Mengistu Haile-Mariam fled into exile before advances by rebels of the EPRDF and men from the Eritrean People's Liberation Front and the Oromo Liberation Front.

The delegation from the EPRDF arrived later but declined to say anything about the discussions.

Meanwhile, a dozen protesters from Ogaden, an area in the south of Ethiopia, chanted outside for an independent homeland.

Abi Rahim Hussein [name as received; not further identified] said the American talks failed to take account of his eight million countrymen who also wanted self-determination but whose rebel movement was not as strong as those taking part in the discussions.

The delegation from the Eritrean People's Liberation Front arrived but said nothing to awaiting reporters.

Rebels Make Announcements to Addis Ababa Citizens*EA2805143091 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1130 GMT 28 May 91*

[Text] Dear listeners, we now begin our broadcast according to our earlier announcement. Since we have various notices and messages, we would like you to listen to them.

Announcement number one to residents of Addis Ababa and its environs:

Most parts of Addis Ababa are in the hands of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF]. Therefore, residents of Addis Ababa, until we give you notice that the situation is safe, for your own personal security and that of your property, we call on you to stay indoors, both day and night, and respect the statement announced to you by the EPRDF.

[Dated] 28 May 1991

Announcement number two to residents of Addis Ababa and its environs:

In its last ditch kill-and-die effort, the Workers Party of Ethiopia Dergue has burned houses around Arat Kilo. The EPRDF strongly calls on members of the Addis Ababa fire brigade to take urgent action to put out the fire so that it does not spread to other areas.

[Dated] 28 May 1991

Announcement number three to residents of Addis Ababa and its environs:

Most of Addis Ababa is currently under EPRDF control. The EPRDF forces are trying to enter Mercato District from different directions. Therefore, Addis Ababa residents, especially those living in Mercato, the EPRDF strongly calls on you to give it the necessary cooperation so that your property is not stolen and your (?life) not put in jeopardy.

Presidential Guard Units Reportedly Hold Out*AB2805130891 Paris AFP in English 1220 GMT 28 May 91*

[Text] Addis Ababa, May 28 (AFP)—The bodies of about 20 Ethiopian soldiers were seen here in the city centre on Tuesday after rebels entered at dawn and captured the Presidential Palace. Units of the crack presidential guard were still holding out however in a wing of the building. Rebel sources said the guard had been trained by North Korea. They did not know how many there were and were holding back from attacking them. In the palace courtyard, seven tanks were burning. The rebels had taken 200 prisoners who appeared to be well treated.

Tesfaye Pulls Out of London Peace Talks*LD2805125191 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1240 GMT 28 May 91*

[Excerpts] Ethiopian Prime Minister Tesfaye Dinka today pulled out of U.S.-led talks with three rebel groups in London aimed at forming a transitional government in his war-torn country. "We have withdrawn from the talks and we have informed the concerned parties that we are not taking part," he told a news conference at the Ethiopian Embassy. His decision followed a threat to quit the talks yesterday after the U.S. Government called for rebels to enter the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa to help stabilise the situation there. Rebel forces of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] entered the city at dawn. Mr Dinka warned yesterday that the move would lead to an explosion of violence with "hand-to-hand battles", but an EPRDF spokesman said this morning: "so far units have not faced formidable resistance."

The peace talks, being led by U.S. mediator Herman Cohen, continued today without Mr Dinka and started at a British Government building in London before he made known his decision. [passage omitted]

Mr Dinka said one party was invited to march into Addis Ababa and take the lead in forming a transitional government, and his delegation would not associate itself with such a development. The peace talks were unrepresentative, but his government would continue to talk to all parties involved in Ethiopia, he added. [passage omitted]

Rebels To Set Up Transitional Government*AU2805132491 Paris AFP in English 1323 GMT 28 May 91*

[Text] London, May 28 (AFP)—The rebel Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) will govern Ethiopia for the time being and the three main rebel groups will organize a conference before July 1 to set up a transitional government, a senior U.S. official announced here Tuesday.

Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen said the EPRDF and the other two main rebel groups had agreed to meet in conference before that date to discuss the future of the country and to form a transitional government.

In the meantime, the EPRDF, whose forces seized Addis Ababa earlier Tuesday, will assume power in Ethiopia, Mr. Cohen told reporters after holding talks with representatives of each of the three main rebel groups.

A date for the conference would be set shortly, he added.

Rebels Capture Ministries, Army Headquarters

AB2805145891 Paris AFP in English 1357 GMT
28 May 91

[Report by David Chazan and Michel Sailhan]

[Excerpts] Addis Ababa, May 28 (AFP)—Ethiopian rebels seized the capital Addis Ababa at dawn on Tuesday, capturing much of the Presidential Palace, several government ministries, the state radio station and armed forces headquarters. But elite troops of the government's North Korean-trained Spartacus Guard retained control of a wing of the palace and forced rebels of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) to keep their distance. The bodies of 20 government soldiers were seen lying about the city centre and the EPRDF said it had taken 200 prisoners. Seven Ethiopian Army tanks were burning in the palace courtyard and in Menelik Avenue a monument bearing a hammer-and-sickle emblem was in flames across from the blood-stained palace steps. Thirty-six government tanks captured in the city centre were lined up on Menelik avenue. [passage omitted]

The rebels said they drove away 200 would-be looters who were trying to break down the palace gates. "They all ran away," the rebels said. But looters were rampaging in other parts of the city, expatriates reached by phone said. The rebel-held radio was broadcasting revolutionary songs.

In London, where Ethiopian peace talks are taking place, the United States mediator Herman Cohen called for an immediate end to the fighting and the creation of a transitional government that would lead to democratic elections within a year. [passage omitted]

Ex-President Mengistu's state dining room, bedrooms richly-decorated with frescoes and military stores in the rebel held parts of the palace were intact. Shortly after 0630 GMT, a blew up close to the Hilton Hotel where Western journalists are staying. [sentence as received] By then the rebels had taken the imperial palace, and several ministries, including those of information and industry, eyewitnesses said. But they seemed in no hurry to press their offensive against the Spartacus unit, said by the rebels to be North Korean-trained.

The EPRDF rebels, many sandal-clad and wearing long scarves with turbans of green, white or pink, had tightened their grip around the capital over the past week following the flight of former Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile-Mariam. Their arrival in the capital, a move approved by Washington, appeared to signal the end of a relentless uprising to topple one of Africa's few remaining hard-line Marxist regimes. At least 15 government soldiers were seen surrendering waving white flags. Other soldiers fled, still wearing their uniforms and carrying their guns. The rebels, mostly armed with Soviet-made Kalashnikov automatic rifles, began to

fraternise with local inhabitants who soon overcame their timidity and began offering them food. [passage omitted]

Witnesses said the rebels, mostly wearing combat jackets over T-shirts, had not attacked civilians. Many of the rebels were women. Abraheta Berhe, 20, who has been in the Tigray rebel ranks for 11 years, said she joined the struggle along with her two older brothers because "women were not equal to men and were oppressed. So I wanted to fight for women". She said the rebel fighters were equal. "Only the leaders guide us," she said. Abraheta had her left hand shot off nine years ago during fighting in the north of Ethiopia. All the rebels said they were happy to be in Addis Ababa. Haile Gebre, 20, said "what the people want is to choose the government they want." Gebre Hiwot, 28, who has fought with the rebels for eight years, said he felt sorry for the government soldiers who "were forced to fight. They were taken from the streets and farms... when I find them I give them what they need and I let them go. I give them respect." [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, more than 32,000 Ethiopian refugees fleeing the fighting have flooded into the tiny neighboring state of Djibouti since the weekend.

EPRDF Leader's News Conference Reported

AB2805162491 London BBC World Service
in English 1515 GMT 28 May 91

[Ebow Sali report on news conference with Meles Zenawi, Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front leader, EPRDF; place and date not given; from the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The leader of the EPRDF [Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front], Meles Zenawi, whose rebels now occupy Addis Ababa, has just given a press conference. Ebow Sali is there. Ebow, what did Mr. Zenawi have to say?

[Sali] Mr. Zenawi said that the EPRDF was assuming responsibility for running the country pending the formation of a broad-based transitional government. He stressed more than once that this is pending the formation of the transitional government. This transitional government will be formed after a conference to be convened not later than the first of July. The conference will be attended by all forces in the country, and the transitional government will rule until internationally-supervised elections are held.

[Bickerton] Now, other groups, including the current interim government and the Oromo Liberation Front, have all been expressing considerable doubts about developments after talks today. What did Mr. Zenawi have to say about relations with them?

[Sali] Mr. Zenawi said that he is willing to talk to anyone. He said this particularly in answer to a question about

the EPRP [Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party], and he said he would be willing to negotiate with anyone.

[Bickerton] And did he say anything about the situation in Addis Ababa itself where the rebels are?

[Sali] Yes: He said that he is happy to inform us that law and order have been restored. He said that the priorities of his new government will be to maintain law and order, to provide essential services, and to facilitate the distribution of relief aid. He also said that he hoped that the countries that are donating aid to Ethiopia will continue to do so and that, indeed, they will augment their provisions.

Harerge Army Wants Cooperation With EPRDF

EA2805182291 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1530 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] As the broad masses of Ethiopia very well know and understand, the First Revolutionary Army, since its inception and in conjunction with the Eastern Harerge Popular Police Force, has been defending the territorial integrity of the area, which amounts to one-fifth of the area of Ethiopia, from foreign aggressors, and it is currently defending the national borders of our country.

In the security area mentioned in this statement, we have been victoriously overcoming the internal wars waged against us since 1969 [Ethiopian calendar—comprising 1976-1977] and are enabling the people to carry out their economic and social activities in a stable environment. Hence, so as to competently carry out our national obligation and to maintain the national boundaries, which have been preserved up to now, and to enable the people in the region to carry out their day-to-day activities in a stable way, we are offering the necessary protection.

At a time when there are international efforts to end the fratricidal war in our country, we, the various departments of the First Revolutionary Army and the Harerge Regional Popular Police Department, express our firm support for the peace talks; and since we believe in working in cooperation with the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] to face the various forces bent on carrying out evil acts and to defend the territorial integrity of the country and the security of the people, we await your reply.

Tesfaye Explains Peace Talks Pullout

AB2805185591 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 28 May 91

[Interview with interim Prime Minister Tesfaye Dinka by Hade Saleh; place and date not given; from the "Focus on Africa" program—recorded]

[Text] It seems the interim government rapidly is despairing of getting what they wanted from the London talks. This morning, they announced they were pulling out of the negotiations. Hade Saleh asked the interim

prime minister, Tesfaye Dinka, if that did mean they would now have no further voice:

[Tesfaye] Well, my government expected to have a very strong voice at these peace talks. This is why it was represented at the level at which it was represented; and we came with great expectation of contributing very actively and very positively to the peace talks. Unfortunately, developments went in a direction that was not good for Ethiopia, that was not good for the permanent peace in Ethiopia. We found it very difficult to participate further.

[Saleh] But earlier, you said that the transitional government that you foresee would include the EPLF [Eritrean People's Liberation Front] and the EPRDF [Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front]; so what is wrong with cooperating with the EPRDF now?

[Tesfaye] We were expecting that whatever the transitional government was going to include and however it is going to be constructed would be the result of direct and intensive and well-organized talks at which all interested political organizations, political groupings were represented. Unfortunately, this did not happen, and because of this, we were very unhappy about the situation and we could not continue further taking part in the talks.

[Saleh] But by not taking part in the talks, you are no longer in a position to guarantee their outcome?

[Tesfaye] Well, taking part in the talks—that will be very prejudicial to the official interests of Ethiopia. It is much more damaging than going there and nominally participating, knowing very well that this is not the best way of resolving Ethiopia's political future.

[Saleh] So what will you do now?

[Tesfaye] I will continue to talk, I will continue to say exactly what I have been saying [words indistinct]

[Saleh] Who will you talk to?

[Tesfaye] To all those parties that can influence the situation.

OLF Criticizes U.S. Support for EPRDF

AB2805212591 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 28 May 91

[Interview with Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) Spokesman (Diman Ogu), by Elizabeth Ohene; place and date not given; from the "Focus on Africa" program—recorded]

[Text] Although the EPRDF [Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front] talks of the formation of a broad-based government, some might say that the American decision to tell the EPRDF to move into Addis Ababa has given them all the trump cards, something that might not be entirely to the liking of the Oromo

Liberation Front [OLF], one of the other groups represented in London. Elizabeth Ohene asked the OLF spokesman, (Diman Ogu), if he had known about and agreed to the decision to send the EPRDF into Addis Ababa:

[(Ogu)] Well, we were not consulted about this issue in particular. When we were called to the conference by the United States Government, we were told that we are going to discuss about a peaceful democratic transition in Ethiopia, so we expected that we will discuss on issues of transition and to end further bloodshed in the country; but we were astounded when we heard last night that the Americans have recommended actually for the EPRDF, one of the negotiating parties, to make an assault on Addis Ababa and take control of the city.

[Ohene] I take it then that you are quite unhappy about that?

[(Ogu)] Definitely yes. If the conference was supposed to discuss about a peaceful transition in Ethiopia, all the parties to the conflict must have had the chance to discuss on how to bring about a peaceful transition in our country.

[Ohene] So, have you made your unhappiness known to the Americans?

[(Ogu)] Yes, we have expressed our position to the Americans, and even today, we thought that some sort of... [changes thoughts] Even after the assault on Addis, we expected some sort of transitional arrangement will be discussed among all the parties, but this issue was not raised at the conference, and it was deferred for about a month later, and we were told for the moment, there is no choice that the EPRDF will (?assume) the responsibility.

[Ohene] Are you talking to the EPRDF?

[(Ogu)] Yes, we are in talking terms with the EPRDF.

[Ohene] You know that the Americans are saying that the EPRDF is just to hold Addis and then the three other groups are then to form a broad-based government for the rest of the country?

[(Ogu)] Well, not just the rest of the country, but for all of the country—I mean we have to be part of a government that is for all of the country, not just the EPRDF to hold Addis and the others to administrate the other areas. Well, if the Americans are ready, I mean to accept all the other parties as equal partners in the talks. I think it is necessary that the United States does not take sides in this conflict; I mean in the past, you know that the Americans have supported the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie, which was a minority-based regime on the Amharic ruling class. If now they are going to support yet another minority rule over our country, I think they will regret it.

EPRDF Chairman Interviewed on Country's Future

LD2905020791 London ITV Television Network
in English 1800 GMT 28 May 91

[Interview with Meles Zenawi, chairman of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), by Nicholas Owen in London on 28 May; from the "Channel 4 News" program—recorded]

[Text] [Owen] Well, I spoke to Meles Zenawi, who is chairman of the EPRDF, and is now effectively in control of Ethiopia. I asked him, first, whether he was sure that he could bring democracy to his country.

[Zenawi] I'm confident that, in cooperation with the other parties and groups, we can deliver democracy and peace for our people.

[Owen] Now, will there be elections, in the sort of time scale that is being suggested? Can you assure the world of that?

[Zenawi] The idea, now, is to hold the conference, in which parties and groups that were not involved in the London conference, would be involved to form a transitional government, and to set up the program for the transition period. After the transition period, there will be an internationally supervised election. We are committed to such an election.

[Owen] Now, keeping Ethiopia together is going to be difficult, isn't it?

[Zenawi] The issue of nationalities has been cause for conflict, because people are trying to hold Ethiopia by force. They were trying to hold Ethiopia together by force. Now, we think this has been proved to be wrong by practice. We think we need a new approach: the formation of a united country, on the basis of the freely expressed will of the people.

[Owen] You speak of the freely expressed will of the people, and of democracy. Yet, I have to say to you, that you yourself, not so long ago, said that you thought Albania was the sort of country you would like to see Ethiopia modeled on. You presumably changed your view.

[Zenawi] I didn't say Albania was a model for us. I said I respected some aspects, like the sovereignty and the way they kept their sovereignty. Although, I suppose we'll have to reevaluate our assessment on Albania in view of the current developments.

[Owen] You completely rejected any thoughts of modeling yourself on that society?

[Zenawi] Yeah.

[Owen] Well, can we move on to other matters? Are you certain that the demands, though made by some people, no doubt, for revenge against the previous administration—you can keep that sort of feeling under control?

[Zenawi] The point is, the EPRDF is not going for revenge, for vendetta. Obviously, there are criminals in the outgoing government. They will have to be detained and tried by a proper court in front of international observers. But, there are also capable people in the present—in the outgoing—government, and we need to keep them in place. Our position on this question is very clear.

[Owen] Do you accept that all those parties, who have been involved in the civil war, bear some of the responsibility for the problems of starvation, facing so many millions of your countrymen? What can now be done to help them?

[Zenawi] First of all, I don't accept assertion that all parties of conflict bear responsibility. As to the question of what can be done for the future, in terms of relief service, I think the best condition has been created for the relief effort to continue smoothly.

[Owen] There has been a great problem about getting aid to the people who need it. Are you sure that that aid can now get in? Are you appealing to the world to give more help to Ethiopia?

[Zenawi] Yes. At the press conference that I just had, I have made it clear that the real beneficiaries of relief aid will now be the people themselves, and that we need all the support we can get now.

EPLF on Transitional Government, Independence

*AB2805214691 Paris AFP in French 2114 GMT
28 May 91*

[Text] London, 28 May (AFP)—The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) will not participate in any transitional government in Ethiopia, a spokesman of the movement said today in London. According to Mr. Kassai, this rebel group, one of the three rebel groups participating in the London negotiations, "did not fight to get ministerial positions in the next Ethiopian Government."

According to him, however, the EPLF does not plan to proclaim the immediate independence of Eritrea.

The EPLF last week took control of the whole of Eritrea, capturing notably the provincial capital of Asmara and the port of Aseb.

'Relative Calm' Restored in Addis Ababa

*AB2905105691 London BBC World Service in English
0630 GMT 29 May 91*

[From the "Network Africa" program hosted by Rick Wells]

[Text] [Wells] As you heard in the news, relative calm has been restored to Ethiopia's capital city of Addis Ababa and control of the city is now firmly in the hands

of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, EPRDF. Collin Blane is on the line in Addis right now. Collin, are you there?

[Blane] I am indeed.

[Wells] What sort of night has it been?

[Blane] It has been a much calmer night than anything of recent days. There has been a little bit of gunfire, but absolutely nothing by comparison with the mayhem of yesterday. It looks as if the forces who came in have maintained very good order among their own people and there have not been too many instances of looting or disorder among the [word indistinct], so it has been a great deal calmer.

[Wells] Well, we started yesterday's program with, literally, the sounds of gunfire in the background. It sounded as if there was complete mayhem, but apparently casualties have been fairly light.

[Blane] We are told that something around 200 people were killed during the fighting yesterday but it tailed off very quickly and order was restored by the afternoon. The city, as I say, is relatively calm—a few gunshots—but you must remember that there are a lot of weapons here, anyway. People have been able to buy them very cheaply from returning soldiers so it is only to be expected that there would still be the occasional gunshots.

[Wells] Obviously, but several days before this happened people in Addis were fearful of what might happen if the rebels took over. Have there been any kind of retributions or whatever as far as you can make out?

[Blane] Well, it is difficult to know who is responsible but there certainly has been a case of three people being executed. We are not sure who did it, but we understand that one of the victims was the head of a local kebele, that is a district committee, who was unpopular with residents. He was identified by residents and he was shot. That much we do know. We are not sure who carried out the killing, but it looks as if incidents like that are pretty (?rare); but that is the one that we have heard about.

[Wells] What has been said about the actual day to day running of the capital? I assume there is still a curfew, but who seems to be in charge there now?

[Blane] Well, as you can imagine, with so many troops from the EPRDF around there is not really a need for a police force at the moment. They are there and appear to be maintaining order reasonably well. I think what everyone is hoping is that the leaders of the EPRDF—[words indistinct] been in London—will return as soon as possible because at the moment what we have got here is a military administration and what we need, what the city needs, is some sort of civilian administration so that the problems of famine, for example, can be properly addressed. At the moment, there isn't anybody really who is able to address those civilian matters.

[Wells] But the radio station is up and running, although I gather that the airport is closed.

[Blane] As far as we know the airport is still closed officially. It is not something that I have got any fresh news on at the moment.

[Wells] Are people expecting a statement later in the day about events in the capital, Addis, and also from London?

[Blane] Well, we have been told that there will be some sort of statement later today on the radio. As for news from London, well, everyone is waiting to see how long it takes for Meles Zenawi, the EPRDF leader, to come here

because the feeling is that the sooner there is a formal leadership in Addis the better.

[Wells] Well, Collin, do you really know what has happened to the vice president, the man who was in charge before this happened?

[Blane] I have got no fresh news about that at all. I don't think anybody else has any news about it. We are not even sure when he disappeared, because so far as I know nothing has been heard of him since the afternoon before the EPRDF invasion of the city. So it may be that he vanished when his own troops came up the hill toward the Presidential Palace and fired on it with tanks. We just do not know what has happened to him.

Angola

Dos Santos Proposes Meeting With Soares

MB2505195791 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] According to Portuguese weekly O JORNAL, His Excellency Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the Republic, has proposed a meeting with his Portuguese counterpart Mario Soares in Lisbon one day before the signing of the cease-fire agreement between the Angolan Government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. O JORNAL added that UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and Tanzania-born OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim will attend the ceremony, which is due to take place in Lisbon on 31 May. Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will also attend the ceremony.

Dos Santos Discusses Peace Process

MB2605132091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 25 May 91

[“Exclusive” interview with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos by Portuguese Radio and Television on 24 May; place not given—passages within quotations marks are recorded]

[Text] His Excellency Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola, has said that the last two MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party ordinary congresses defined peace, democracy, and a market economy as fundamental objectives. The Angolan supreme leader said this yesterday in an interview with Portuguese Radio and Television.

[Dos Santos] “I believe that the reconciliation of the Angolan family is irreversible. We now have a very solid foundation to consolidate peace. I believe we shall achieve this objective. It is true that we face difficulties. We face difficulties mainly because of a lack of contact for many years. There was war and a lack of dialogue. It will therefore be necessary to gradually reestablish mutual trust, and I believe that it is only with a solid trust that we shall prevent the process from falling apart.”

Asked if the introduction of a multiparty system in Angola was due to external pressure or the MPLA's wish, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos had this to say:

[Dos Santos] “I think that our objective has always been to establish democracy. This democracy should be understood as the sovereign expression of the people's wish—the wish of the majority. Obviously, there are different concepts of democracy. For some time, we favored certain types of concepts. These concepts did not satisfy all our aspirations. We made adjustments accordingly. When we speak of democracy, we are absolutely

convinced that the Angolan people are now ready for the major challenges ahead. As we have always said, we would have wanted to see this democratization process—to put it in better words—this process to achieve real democracy, carried out gradually, in a progressive manner, by enlightening our people, sectors, and social classes. We have to bear in mind, however, that we live in a different world today. We are experiencing a different internal and regional situation. We are therefore ready to face some risks to achieve the objective of democracy.

“There are still some risks. We shall need a lot of wisdom, a lot of skill, but above all, a lot of understanding and tolerance. This is because, apart from the war trauma, we are a country with special characteristics. Let me say, for example, that we have an ethnic problem that we cannot hide. We have a young country. We achieved independence in 1975, that is about 15 years ago. Accordingly, our state is not adequately organized and consolidated. What is more, we do not have instruments of power, such as adequately organized and consolidated armed forces. Our courts are gradually being organized. We are now training cadres. We have many lawyers now, but they are still not enough. The number was much less in 1975. We made great efforts to train cadres. I think there will be some risks. However, as I pointed out above, we are ready to face risks, because I believe that the Angolan people are ready for this great challenge.”

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was then asked whether the signing of peace agreements due in Lisbon on 31 May is a capitulation by the MPLA. Let us hear what the Angolan head of state had to say.

[Dos Santos] “I do not think it is a capitulation. On the contrary, I believe that we have achieved our objectives. Our main objective was to achieve a just and lasting peace. In the political field, we wanted our country's integrity, our country's unity. This objective, too, has been achieved. We achieved this objective despite some secessionist tendencies in Cabinda Province. What is more, we have made major advances in cultural fields.

“Let me say that since 1985, the MPLA decided to carry out readjustments in its policies. It carried out major ideological adjustments. It approved the principle of a market economy and the creation of conditions to establish democracy. These objectives did not materialize because of external pressures or because of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. These changes originated from the MPLA-Labor Party itself. Peace, democracy, and a market economy were clearly defined during the recent congresses held by the MPLA-Labor Party. Therefore, I do not believe that it is a capitulation.

“I must point out that UNITA's objective has always been to gain power through force. In 1975 it dissociated itself from the rest of the population, went into the bush and, with South African support, mounted a military

campaign. It had defined Menongue as its point of departure and Luanda as its destination. It is evident that it will not arrive in Luanda by force. It will arrive in Luanda because we all understand that our objectives now are peace, democracy, and a market economy. There was no capitulation."

On economic rehabilitation and the government program on the reintegration of the entire Angolan family in the process of national reconstruction, the president of the Republic said:

[Dos Santos] "Our reconstruction program is divided into two phases. We wanted to carry out the first phase of the program immediately after the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibian independence. Unfortunately, we did not attain (?peace) and the necessary international financing. The goal of this program was to reconstruct southern Angola. This was the first phase of our program.

"The second phase of the program is broader. It is still being outlined with international assistance. As a matter of fact, Portugal is also taking part in this program. It is called the Economic Rehabilitation Program. It is a program [words indistinct] and I believe that it will be concluded soon. It will be a good foundation to mobilize all living forces at the internal level, as well as to mobilize assistance at the external level for our country's economic and social reconstruction.

"It is not an easy problem. We have to demobilize about 120,000 soldiers from FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] alone. We plan to establish programs to integrate all these people in productive activity and other areas with the assistance from the international community. We have called on the Portuguese mediators and U.S. and Soviet observers to actively participate in solving this problem. It cannot only be viewed as the Angolan Government's responsibility. It is with this in mind and within the framework of joint efforts to implement the Bicesse agreements that our government approached the Portuguese Government and the EEC."

The president of the People's Republic of Angola also spoke of forces that are taking part in the country's pacification process. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said that at the moment there are only two forces taking part in the process, that is the Angolan Government and UNITA.

[Dos Santos] "Our main objective at the moment is to end the war once and for all and to create a single national army. However, the pacification process goes beyond that framework. It is true that we want to end the war and establish a single national army. However, we shall have the problem of the war-mutilated people, orphans, and those who lost all their property. We have a psychological and moral problem brought about by the trauma of war. What is more, since we have decided to establish a multiparty democracy in the country, we shall have to involve all political forces in the creation of our

future—the establishment of conditions that will permit the holding of multiparty elections and not two-party elections. We advocate the principle of other forces' participation, apart from the MPLA and UNITA."

Dos Santos Gives News Conference in Huambo

*MB2905090091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 29 May 91*

[News Conference by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos with unidentified foreign and domestic reporters in Huambo on 28 May—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] So, are you confident of your support among the people?

[Dos Santos] I think that Huambo residents have unequivocally expressed their joy and pleasure about our visit. We could even regard that expression as a manifestation of support for and solidarity with the president of the Republic.

[Reporter] You leave for Lisbon on 29 May. Have you already decided whether you will meet with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] President Savimbi?

[Dos Santos] UNITA has expressed such a desire through the news media, but it has not made a request directly to us. If it does, the request will certainly be attended to.

[Reporter] Mr. President, you have repeatedly stated that this transition period should evolve in a calm atmosphere. You have also warned about emotional situations likely to, let us say, create disadvantageous situations. I would like to ask you what concerns you most during this period leading to elections?

[Dos Santos] What concerns me most is that bad faith might prevail. Likewise, I am concerned about attempts to derail the implementation of the Bicesse accords.

[Reporter] Mr. President, in your speech a while ago you appealed to the international community to assist your government in reconstructing the CFB [Benguela Railroad]. Earlier, you said you were looking for \$17 million and that mechanisms would be created to raise the sum. Specifically, what do you expect from the international community?

[Dos Santos] We expect a bit of everything from the international community. We need financial, technical, and material assistance that will permit us to repair the CFB so it is operational up to Bie, and afterward to Luao.

[Reporter] Mr. President, last week you visited Benguela and now you are in Huambo. We have heard that you have planned other visits to central Angola. Could you tell us the reason for this itinerary?

[Dos Santos] The visit to Huambo, Bie, and Benguela had been planned for quite some time. Due to a tight schedule, we made it to Benguela on this trip. Actually, I said that in Benguela. Obviously, with the signing of a cease-fire accord around the corner, we felt that the time was right to make this tour. We have come to Huambo to see how people reacted to the government's decision to sign a cease-fire accord. [words indistinct]

[Reporter] Mr. President, are you planning to visit Luena?

[Dos Santos] I would like to go to Luena at once. Unfortunately, I will not be able to do it now because I am due to leave for Portugal. Perhaps upon my return I will plan a visit to Luena.

[Reporter, in Spanish] Mr. President, I understand that you have not been to Huambo city for eight years now. You have come here on the eve of your departure to Lisbon. Are you already campaigning for the elections?

[Dos Santos] No election campaign is being held at present. It is only a matter of conveying our views about the country's situation. In doing so, we are able to see how the people react to our viewpoints. The election campaign will be set according to the electoral law, which has not yet been approved.

[Reporter, in Spanish] At your meeting with traditional chiefs this morning, you said that the election campaign would be difficult in Huambo Province. Will it be more difficult in Huambo than in other provinces, and if so, why?

[Dos Santos] It think it will be a difficult campaign (?wherever) political forces have established certain roots. Competition is bound to be great. We are aware that in the past Huambo was UNITA's headquarters. (?In 1975, UNITA established) [words indistinct] in Huambo. UNITA might still have some support in Huambo and could be planning to use it as its political base. That is why I have appealed for vigilance, because an election campaign might not be as easy (?as it looks).

[Reporter] Could it be that you have a special strategy for central and southern Angola?

[Dos Santos] The MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] has not yet adopted an electoral strategy. The MPLA is, let us say, still studying the situation and planning what steps to take. Therefore, I cannot speak of a specific electoral strategy for southern and central Angola. At the political and military levels [words indistinct].

[Reporter] Recently, Portuguese Catholic dignitaries discussed issues related to peace. There are prospects of the pope coming to Angola. Has any timetable been set for the pope's visit? Why has Angola not established diplomatic relations with the Vatican?

[Dos Santos] Last year we invited His Holiness the Pope to visit the People's Republic of Angola. He said that he

would come to Angola in 1992, but no date has been set. However, arrangements are being made through diplomatic channels.

As for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, talks are under way with the Vatican. There are several outstanding problems which, let us say, hinder the establishment of diplomatic relations, and it is up to Angola to solve them. Specifically, Catholic churches ought to be returned to their owners [words indistinct] the question of the Catholic Church having access to the news media, as well as its legal status. Our government (?is discussing) these issues are being [words indistinct] soon and as best as we can.

[Reporter] You have said that the reconstruction of Angola will cost many millions of dollars. Will you use your visit to Portugal to talk to the Portuguese Government, as well as the Soviet and U.S. observers, about the assistance that those countries and the international community may give toward Angola's reconstruction?

[Dos Santos] It is a question of [words indistinct] the plan to demobilize armed forces personnel following the formation of a national army. As you know, there will be more than 120,000 soldiers, and our government will not have the financial resources to [words indistinct].

[Reporter, in Spanish] What amount will Angola require for its reconstruction?

[Dos Santos] To start with (?\$2 billion).

[Reporter] Will the government allow a Catholic radio station? Could you comment on Savimbi's remarks [words indistinct] that the MPLA's overtures to the Catholic Church will not bear fruit because the MPLA has harassed the church?

[Dos Santos] I do not wish to comment on that. Obviously, the Catholic Church is a sovereign body and will make decisions that best serve its interests in Angolan society and its relations with the state. Ours has been a policy of (?peaceful) coexistence and of cooperation with the Catholic Church. We will continue to do that.

Regarding Radio Iglesia [Catholic Church station], we have approved a press law that does not provide for the establishment of commercial stations. Such stations will be established at a later stage, and a special law will govern their activities. Meanwhile, we felt that the Catholic Church, as well as other churches, will have access to the news media on terms still to be defined.

I think that the Catholic Church has not been pressing for the return of Radio Iglesia as much as it has been calling for the return of the building that is currently occupied by a radio school. I believe that the building will be [words indistinct].

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] a mission in Jamba. It also wants to open a mission in Luanda, while retaining the one in Jamba. I am aware that a South African delegation was in Luanda recently to discuss those issues with

your government, but, Mr. President, we are not aware of the outcome of that meeting.

[Dos Santos] As you know, the first point of the Bicesse accords calls for the recognition of the state, the government, and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos until elections are held. Therefore, we feel that the South African Government ought to maintain relations with the state and government, but not with the various political parties.

[Reporter] So, your government will not allow the continuation of that mission in Jamba.

[Dos Santos] I think that would be interfering in the domestic affairs of Angola, because relations between states must follow specific principles.

[Reporter] Actually, Jamba is a very curious issue. What will be the future status of Jamba? Will UNITA continue to enjoy territorial and administration rights in that part of the country?

[Dos Santos] Jamba is part of Angola, and it has been agreed that the central government will stretch its rule to all areas that at present are beyond its control. This includes Jamba.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] meetings between FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] throughout the country?

[Dos Santos] These meetings have been held between military teams of the General Staffs of FAPLA and UNITA and are aimed at establishing provisional mechanisms to uphold the cease-fire. So far things have gone well. There has been cooperation and even understanding and, if things continue like this until 1 (?June), the provisional mechanisms will then be replaced by the mechanisms provided for in the Bicesse accord.

[Reporter] You have just completed a working visit to Huambo Province. I would like to know about your meeting with the provincial government yesterday, namely the assessment of several projects. What areas will be covered by those projects?

[Dos Santos] The provincial government's plan of action covers all sectors of Huambo Province. Obviously, there are priority areas like the supply of commodities, the maintenance of public order, and the reconstruction of the railroad.

[Reporter, in Spanish] In his interview with JORNAL DE ANGOLA, [UNITA Chief of Staff] General Ben-Ben spoke of the possibility of requesting the U.S. Government to give funds for a future electoral campaign. How will your government react to the likelihood of such a role being played by the United States?

[Dos Santos] All of that is covered by the law on political parties. In principle, political parties should not receive foreign aid.

[Reporter, in Spanish] But what was your reaction to Ben-Ben's remarks?

[Dos Santos] I am telling you that such remarks are against the law on political parties, which has been approved and is in force in the People's Republic of Angola.

Savimbi on Economy, Relations With Portugal

*LD2505094391 Lisbon RDP Internacional
in Portuguese 1901 GMT 24 May 91*

[Text] Both the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] are Angolan movements. It is difficult to imagine that after 16 years of war and the long months of peace efforts, the two sides will not observe the accords that are the last hope of leading Angola to peace and democracy.

In the view of UNITA's leader [Jonas Savimbi], economic and financial discipline is necessary in the country first and foremost.

[Begin Savimbi recording] We think that economic and financial discipline is needed in the country first of all. We cannot continue to live as we do now. This is irresponsible. Angola, which has a lot of potential, cannot have a day to day economy or financial policy. Angola must belong to a zone where there is a guarantee, that is to say, financial stability. Is it a rand zone? We think that a rand zone would be very onerous for us. A franc zone is an idea that ought to be examined. It is an idea that should be examined, because we cannot belong to a dollar zone—this does not exist in Africa. The rand zone is immensely onerous, because South Africa has a developed industry and we do not want to become a colony. Therefore, this is not a policy that has been exhaustively debated within the UNITA bodies, but it is an idea being studied. Angola should belong to a zone with a stable currency. A stable currency because the [word indistinct] of the sale of raw materials, the international markets, all maintain a climate of uncertainty. Also, the demands that the IMF imposes on African countries, such as firing 50 percent of all civil servants, creates more crises than resolutions. Therefore, we seriously think that belonging to a stable monetary zone would be a guarantee to the very economic and financial development of Angola. [end recording]

In Jonas Savimbi's view, Angola must be first and foremost a country turned toward Africa, and it is there that it will have its most important role. But will this role harm its relationship with Portugal?

[Begin recording] [Word indistinct] because Portugal has a privileged position already, because as I have said, Portugal has a role that it has to understand. I said at our conference of cadres: He who tells the truth is a friend. There are things that Portugal wants to do and cannot do for Angola. Angola must first of all be a country turned toward Africa. It is in Africa that Angola will have its

most important role, and not in relation to Europe. Therefore, it is within Africa that Angola must associate with the EC. Not in unilateral terms—I gave a speech (?in Cape Town) before an economic and financial community of 400 industrialists. I said that no country, not even South Africa, could find advantages in its relationship with the international community if it is alone. No country, not even South Africa. Moreover, we have immense possibilities within regional groups. Why? Because of the following: America is no longer interested in Africa. They say Africa is lost. They want by all means to recuperate the whole of the Americas—Latin America, Central America, etc. Japan is not interested in Africa, either. It will go on to China, the Koreans, etc. Europe is not interested in Africa, because it will go to Eastern Europe. Therefore, Africa has no one. Who will help Africa? This trend is making many people lose their motivation, it is discouraging them. [passage indistinct] I do not agree. If we seriously [word indistinct], reorganize our structures with the greatest discipline we could, together, negotiate very favorable terms, whether with the Americans, with Japan, or the EC.

This is what I think. This will not create problems with Portugal. I do not support an economic and financial relationship between Portugal and Angola on an individual basis, because Portugal is part of the EC, and Portugal is satisfied. Portugal could not raise Angola economically. It cannot. It does not have the capital for this. We need to address the EC, the United States, and Japan. But Portugal has an advantage that nobody can usurp. Portugal shares the same language with us. The administration of Angola can only be rehabilitated with Portugal. [end recording]

Savimbi on Cuban Withdrawal, Cease-Fire

MB2705074291 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0505 GMT 27 May 91

[Interview with UNITA President Jonas Savimbi by unidentified reporters in Jamba on 26 May—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Comrade President, under the terms of the Brazzaville and New York accords, the Cubans were scheduled to leave Angola by 1 July 1991. It happens that the Cubans withdrew by 25 May. What has prompted the rescheduling of the Cuban withdrawal?

[Savimbi] Well, if in fact they have left—and I am saying if—we are pleased with that because the Cubans had nothing more to do here. Angolans have reached agreement on why they have been fighting each other, so we thought that the Cubans ought to leave. We only need to confirm whether the Cubans have, in fact, left. UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] will continue to question whether this withdrawal took place until such time as we can confirm through our sources and the people that the Cubans have left.

It is true to say that the Cubans were no longer a hostile force. They had ceased to take part in combat operations

against UNITA, but for us the announcement of a Cuban withdrawal sounds like the prelude to a ploy. The fact that soldiers who were scheduled to leave in July have left in May implies that the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and its allies have logistical capabilities that we do not think they possess at present. In any event, we do hope that they have left.

[Reporter] Comrade President, you had planned to return to Luanda once the Cubans withdrew by 1 July. Have you changed your plans now that the Cuban withdrawal has been rescheduled?

[Savimbi] Whereas earlier the rescheduling of the Cuban withdrawal would have come as a pleasant surprise to UNITA's leadership, today we have doubts about it. We do not know whether they have left or not, and that is why we have not reviewed our plan to return to Luanda in July. We still have the whole of June to be precise about the Cuban withdrawal.

[Reporter] In addition to UNITA and the MPLA, a number of political parties have emerged on the Angolan political scene. Do you feel that they enjoy any popularity? Do they have political programs suitable for the current and future situation of Angola? Are such parties capable of winning any seats in the future Angolan legislature?

[Savimbi] Well, because we are talking about multipartyism, we only consider there to be two parties: UNITA and the MPLA. We very much doubt the command that the parties you have referred to might have over the people, because most of these parties were created long before the law on political parties was introduced by the MPLA. We do not know whether they are genuine parties, but let us see, because we believe that the people are the ones who ought to express their support for one or another party.

First—and I have said so several times in the past—UNITA does not like to be attacked by other parties, because it is due to our struggle that the Cubans have left. Without UNITA's armed struggle, the Cubans would have never left Angola. Therefore, we cannot allow such parties to put us on the same level with the MPLA, regardless of any reasons they might have.

Second, I have strong views about this idea of a third force that emerged in certain Western capitals. Such a force is not viable. What will such a force do? Where will it start and when will it end?

Whereas the struggle for national liberation waged against the Portuguese did not cover the entire country and the people as a whole, the resistance against the Soviets and Cubans covered the whole nation. There is not even a square meter of Angolan territory that was left untouched by the guerrilla army. Likewise, no Angolan escaped the ideological confrontation between UNITA and the MPLA.

So I have serious problems with those parties unless they join forces to form a group that might win them one or two seats in the legislature. In any event, I doubt that they will succeed in winning any seats.

[Reporter] Comrade President, we are heading toward 31 May, the day that the cease-fire accords will be signed. You have suggested that the signing of the accords could have been preceded by a meeting with the president of the MPLA. Will such a meeting still take place, and if not, will that cause any harm?

[Savimbi] I am not entirely discouraged. Today is 26 May, and the UNITA delegation is about to leave Cazunguela airport for Lisbon. I still think that that meeting will take place because it is in the interest of the MPLA and its president, as well as in the interest of peace. I hope that the MPLA president will review his stand so that the Lisbon meeting will not be a repetition of Gbadolite.

I followed the interview he gave in Benguela in which he said that what mattered now was the signing of the peace accords. Well, that is not entirely correct. We will sign a paper with ink, but what matters are the feelings in Angolan hearts, particularly the leaders' hearts. It is very important that we take into account the interests of the people when we deal with the problem of peace. That is why I consider that meeting with President dos Santos to be of vital importance.

[Reporter] The signing of the cease-fire accord will lay down the foundations for peace and multiparty democracy in Angola. What does UNITA think about the Angolan diaspora, the exiles, those who have (?acquired the citizenship) of the countries they live in, and those attending training courses abroad, as well as Angolan youths in Cuba and other Eastern Bloc countries?

[Savimbi] Well, you mentioned various types of Angolans. So, our children who have been sent to Cuba are like slaves and as such they must be sent back home. In fact, we must demand that Cuba return those children to Angola.

We have learned from Luanda radio that Cuba will retain an embassy in Luanda, including military attaches. This has been done without prior consultation with other parties, or at least with UNITA. The MPLA does not know whether UNITA will accept a Cuban embassy in Luanda once we win the elections. This is because our children are living like slaves in Cuba.

As for the Angolans scattered around the world, we have openly stated that all Angolans ought to return home. The Angolans who are unable to return home due to professional constraints ought to have the right to vote from where they are. There are medical doctors, architects, and other Angolan professionals who cannot resign from their jobs and return to Angola. I am very concerned about this issue because it is not enough to sign a piece of paper to allow people to say peace that (?has been achieved). People will be careful and have fears

about what will happen in Angola over the next six to 10 months. Afterwards, they will take a stand. Therefore, I believe that all Angolans have the right to vote.

When I toured Europe I met with Angolan ecologists. Often (?one tends to believe) that because we have trained ecologists (?they do not need the right to vote). But there are a considerable number of Angolans in Portugal, Zaire, and Zambia. One ought to give these people the right to vote on the future of their country.

[Reporter] In Angola, particularly among UNITA members, concern has been expressed about certain types of silenced weapons that the MPLA intends to use during the election campaign. There are reports of beautiful girls carrying a vaccine that will kill those men with whom they establish an intimate relationship. Can you comment?

[Savimbi] This is a very complex issue. I have repeatedly stated that neither UNITA nor the MPLA should encourage their members to kill each other's candidates. This is pointless because we have fought for 16 years and are now taking the first steps toward establishing peace in Angola. I reject and condemn the idea of using pistols with silencers and the recruitment of beautiful ladies. The Angolan people should not allow such things to happen.

The MPLA has employed its violent means for 16 years, but we were able to face the challenge. All of us should not ignore this. Those who have silenced pistols ought to throw them away because they are worthless. As for the beautiful ladies, I must say that we are not going to enter a beauty contest, so it is pointless to continue talking about attempts on the lives of one's adversaries and about pistols. It is true to say that a 16-year-old war always leaves a mark, but we ought to be morally strong and forget the past. We must only consider the voice of the people and let them freely express their views during the elections.

[Reporter] Still on the elections: The MPLA has already begun its election campaign even though it has not announced a candidate. There are reports that the smaller parties are about to establish branches in the cities. Is UNITA lagging behind? When does it intend to launch its election campaign?

[Savimbi] We started our campaign a long time ago, and we are campaigning right now. What we are doing now is exposing the unacceptable behavior of certain parties. I did just that when I returned from Europe on 19 May. We have already started our election campaign.

I am convinced that after the signing of the peace accord on 31 May, many UNITA militants throughout the country will open party branches. They are entitled to do so. So we are not lagging behind. We will be on time and we will be able to overtake the others. I am not referring to the smaller parties, but to the MPLA. There is no question of us lagging behind. We only want to adhere to the timetable, and afterwards we will enter the election

campaign officially, instead of clandestinely. In any event, the smaller parties are, like Vorgan [Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel] said this morning, branches of the same tree, namely the MPLA tree.

[Reporter] Comrade President, you are about to leave, and we do not want to disturb you further. However, we would like you to address a message to the Angolan people who are anxious to see you back home.

[Savimbi] First, I would like to thank FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] soldiers for the timely and honorable manner in which they adhered to the cease-fire order. They must continue to adhere to that order because we can only succeed in peace. We have waged war because history did not give us another option. We must avoid responding to provocations so that we are not accused of violating the cease-fire accord. We can only gain by adhering to the cease-fire accord.

There have been FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] units that adhered to the cease-fire accord. They have acted like honorable Angolans. Both FALA and FAPLA soldiers who resist any provocation will only honor our fatherland, which has suffered for 16 years.

Now a word for the Angolan people. They should not let the question of peace be a matter for the armed forces alone. Peace is for all. The Angolan people have the sacred duty of strengthening peace in a fraternal manner. Only Angolans have suffered in this war. The other players have come and gone. So, we are the ones who suffered, and will suffer more if we undermine peace. Therefore, civilians should help consolidate peace in Angola.

As for the politicians, we wish to tell them that we do not belong to their category. We are resistance fighters. Politicians are the ones who ran away and did not resist. Politicians are the ones who managed to secure menial jobs and are now shouting political slogans. Politicians should be careful not to distort the facts about the process of consolidating peace.

There are two phases in the process of consolidating peace. The most important one is the actual consolidation of peace. Afterwards, we will take part in elections, so politicians should not undermine this process. The politicians want political blueprints and parties and have already created parties. They can create even more parties, like in 1975 when there were 43 parties. But if elections had been held then, maybe only three parties could have played a significant role.

As for UNITA's men and women, they must be vigilant because we do not want to take part in such a major exercise in a spirit of mistrust. But like the Portuguese say, a burned child fears fire. Therefore, you must be vigilant.

Likewise, our soldiers must remain vigilant. It is not the right time to be completely relaxed unless we know that the adversary will act accordingly. We do not know what

political weapons they are going to hurl at us. I am not talking about silenced pistols. Therefore, we must be vigilant.

As we are about to return to our cities and villages, we should do it as UNITA's men and women who adhere to the guidelines laid down by our movement's leadership. We must not return to our cities and villages in a disorderly manner; otherwise, we will be risking our lives. People should not just think that the time has come and put a knapsack over their shoulders and run to their villages, for they could be enduring unnecessary hardships.

I sincerely hope that after the signing of the peace accord on 31 May Angolans will feel happier and celebrate the occasion. They must remain vigilant until such a time when peace is guaranteed, the presence of UN forces in Angola has been ensured, and the verification commissions established.

In sum, we must remain vigilant until the two warring factions—UNITA and the MPLA—can strike sound deals to consolidate peace. There will be many risks if no sound deal is struck. If we remain vigilant and abide by the guidelines laid down by our leadership, nobody will lose. In fact, everybody will win—UNITA and the people.

[Reporter] Thank you, Comrade President. On behalf of all Vorgan employees, I wish you a pleasant journey and successes.

[Savimbi] Thank you.

Savimbi Departs on Visit to Morocco, Portugal

*MB2705201791 (Clandestine) KUP in English
to Southern and Central Africa 1915 GMT 27 May 91*

[Text] Jamba, Monday, May 27—The UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] president, Dr Jonas Savimbi left Jamba yesterday for a brief visit to Morocco where he will meet King Hassan of Morocco, Thursday [30 May], before proceeding to Portugal where he and the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] leader Eduardo dos Santos will sign the Angolan peace accords on May 31.

Informed sources say after the signing of the peace accords, the UNITA leader will remain in Portugal for two days during which he is scheduled to visit the Portuguese city of Porto before he leaves for a two-day official visit to France.

Preparations for Signing of Accord Under Way

*MB2905093491 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 29 May 91*

[Text] In the Portuguese capital today, Angolan Government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] delegations are due to conclude

preparations for the signing of an Angolan peace accord scheduled for 31 May. The delegations will be chaired by Territorial Administration Minister Lopo do Nascimento, who left Luanda last night, and by UNITA Vice Chairman Jeremias Chitunda.

It will be recalled that the signing of the cease-fire accord will take place on 31 May at 1900 at the Foreign Ministry's banquet hall, where Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi will sign the document ending the 16 year-old Angolan war.

FAPLA, UNITA Commands Hold Second Meeting

*MB2605195791 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 26 May 91*

[Text] FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] military commands held their second direct meeting in Malange Province yesterday. The two commands decided to begin to disarm mines in the Malange Province Military Region tomorrow. Our correspondent Joao Rosa Santos has further details:

[Joao Rosa Santos] The meeting between FAPLA and FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] forces, led by Lieutenant Colonel Tobias and Colonel Chimuko, respectively, was mainly geared toward permitting the free movement of people and goods. During the meeting, it was decided to create a commission of sappers made up of 10 men, five from each side, which will begin to disarm mines in the Malange Military Region tomorrow.

The meeting also created a control and verification commission, which will begin to operate in Malange City as soon as the sappers conclude their work along the Caculama-Malange road. Two vehicles have been made available to support the commission's work and facilitate movement in the province.

The meeting also called on the Malange Military Region to brief the FAPLA General Staff on the development of the peace process in the [word indistinct] military region.

FAPLA, FALA Commands Meet 26 May

*MB2705125891 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 27 May 91*

[Paulo Cahilo Report from Luena]

[Text] The joint military commission for the verification of the accords [words indistinct] consisting of senior FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] officers met yesterday in Luena city, Moxico Province, for the second time in less than two weeks. Paulo Cahilo reports from Luena:

[Begin Cahilo recording] The meeting assessed the documents establishing subcommissions in Caculama, Uaco

Cungo, and Luena. The meeting also reviewed the overall situation in the country, namely the 31 incidents that have so far been reported, and ways of settling disputes likely to endanger the peace process.

The two commands also assessed the accords on the free movement of peoples, property, and convoys carrying supplies to the residents of remote areas. Subcommissions have already been created to oversee the disarming of land mines on the Luena-Saurimo, Luena-Leua, and Luena-Chicala roads. Significant progress has been reported in this regard.

The movement of FAPLA and FALA forces was assessed at yesterday's meeting.

The FAPLA-FALA joint verification commission agreed to establish other subcommissions in Malange, Cuanza Sul, Saurimo, Huila, Huambo, Bie, and Uige Provinces. The two sides agreed to maintain the existing channels of communication until the signing of the cease-fire accord. [end recording]

FAPLA-FALA Team Disarms Four Mines

*MB2805203991 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 28 May 91*

[Text] Four mines have already been disarmed along the Luena-Dala road in Lunda Sul Province by the joint team of sappers from the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] forces. This was revealed in Luena City, Moxico Province, today by Colonel Sanjar, a member of the FAPLA General Staff and one of the coordinators of the Control and Operational Verification Subcommission.

Last Cuban Troops Depart 25 May

*MB2505125891 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 25 May 91*

[Text] A total of 50,000 internationalist Cuban soldiers have already left the People's Republic of Angola within the framework of the bilateral agreement signed in New York on 22 December 1988. The withdrawal ceremony of the Cuban military contingent took place at 4 February International Airport this morning in the presence of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Cuban Vice President Juan Almeida Bosque. General Pericles Ferreira Gomes, UN Verification Mission chief, pointed out that now there is not a single Cuban soldier left in Angola.

Ministers Ratify Accord With World Bank

*MB2705145791 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 25 May 91*

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Angola, which met in Luanda yesterday, ratified an

agreement between Angola and the World Bank to improve macroeconomic management in the country. The Council of Ministers also ratified an agreement to rehabilitate infrastructures, a draft law establishing a pharmaceutical company, as well as the statutes of the Petroleum Ministry and State Secretariats for Geology and Mining and Construction Materials. The meeting also discussed the draft statute of the Ministry of Public Works and Urbanization and a draft law amending Law 13/78 on Sonangol's [National Angolan Fuel Company] percentage in oil exploration.

* Independent Party Leader Urges Fair Elections

91AF1031A Lisbon PUBLICO in Portuguese
27 Apr 91 p 14

[Commentary by Angolan Independent Party President Adriano Parreira]

[Text] The light of peace, democracy, and freedom can be seen at the end of the tunnel through which we are traveling together. The end of the militarism of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], which for 16 years has been causing death and destruction in our country, is approaching. To prevent the UNITA and the MPLA from continuing to interpret independence as meaning civil war, the Angolan Independent Party (PAI) is demanding that the Angolan people's executioners provide guarantees that they will accept defeat in the elections without resentment, and that when they have done their best to deceive the people of Angola along the lengthy path we will have to pursue to the elections, they will not return to the bush.

These guarantees are the more important the more obvious it becomes that, for both the MPLA and for the UNITA, retreating into the mountains will be increasingly intolerable, and on top of that, burdened by the weight of bad conscience, they will lack the moral force to achieve their goal. The reason is that the people of Angola, always vigilant, are prepared to impose defeat on them at the polls because of the assassinations, atrocities, corruption, and hypocrisy of which millions of innocent Angolans have been the victims.

The elections will prove that the people of Angola will not succumb to the sophistic rhetoric of their hangmen—the UNITA, MPLA, and FNLA [Angolan National Liberation Front], and they will judge each party on the basis of the role it has played and is continuing to play in Angola. The PAI, the party of all the Angolans, is the political expression of the Angolan citizens who love peace, work, and progress (...).

Faithful to its principles, the PAI continues to reject the insistent proposals of the UNITA, MPLA, and FNLA which are designed to seduce the people into alliances in which we will not participate (...). The PAI is, however, open to dialogue with all the Angolan democratic forces which are fighting for the independence of Angola within

the framework of multiparty democracy, in which private enterprise will not be synonymous with a society at the mercy of the arbitrary whims of capital. These are principles which are, after all, shared by everyone who accepts us as the Third Force, the national and democratic alternative to neocolonialism and tyranny.

(...) The Third Force has thus been finally defined. It is made up of all the citizens of Angola who love peace and are prepared to wage the battle with intelligence, with effort, and with dedication to the fatherland, and to demand that the PAI be the expression of their will in the elections and in the future democratic government of Angola. The future has already arrived!

* Public Expresses Opinion on Peace Talks

* 'New Alvor' Feared

91AF1033A Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese
20 Apr 91 p 30

[Article by Jonuel Goncalves in Luanda]

[Text] The airport in the city of Luena is destroyed. In the middle of the week, missiles of all calibers fell on the Moxico capital, and not only on the peripheries, whence the inhabitants attempted to flee. It was 18 days of intense fire, in an area with more than 100,000 residents.

In neighboring Bie, small battles are multiplying, with the town of Catabola being attacked once again, while in Huambo Province Bailundo—another densely populated area—is also the target of combat with important effects.

The Government continues to state that "air space is being violated by airplanes flying from Zaire," and a communique from the Defense Ministry notes two confrontations in the diamond-producing province of Lunda-Norte, with several casualties.

This wartime situation, for which innumerable other examples can be given, influences the behavior of public opinion with respect to the negotiating process taking place outside Lisbon. It is true that contrary to what had already occurred last week, those who are skeptical about the possibility of an imminent signing are rare, but the vast majority of people continue to say that they do not "have enough information to judge the type of progress that has already been made."

In political circles that were called, until a short time ago, "independents," and which are now called "democrats" or simply "civics," the fear of "a new Alvor" is expressed, with the two belligerents "shutting up the rest of the country." This fear appears to us to be ill-founded, since the behavior of Angolan society (and even that of the whole world) has changed in the last 16 years. The very political-military forces in power have already compromised significantly by promising political pluralism.

Social Demands

In the social domain, demands continue to be expressed throughout the entire territory. We refer here to the case of the primary teachers of faraway Tombwa (formerly Porto Alexandre), on the Namibian desert seacoast. One of the opinions that has gained the most ground—and which expresses the new sentiments—is that of the “need for a nonpartisan unionism.”

The television has broadcast speeches by the president of the Republic, the minister of health, and the president of the Order of Physicians (who among other things called for exoneration of the minister of that portfolio) during a meeting in Futungo de Belas, seat of the presidency. Minister Flavio Fernandes will remain, and it is as difficult to predict the official response to the other demands as it is to anticipate the attitude of the mass of medical and paramedical personnel afterwards.

Also beginning its activities this week was the Council of the Republic, a consultative body comprised of important MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] figures, historically close intellectuals, at least two businessmen who are members of the embryonic new parties, and protestant clergy. The Catholics did not agree to send official representatives, but the presence of Justice Minister Lazaro Dias, a recognized Catholic, is seen in some circles as an “official voice” of the Church.

However, other individuals and associations (the ACA [Angolan Civic Association] for example), have declined the invitation to join this body, the existence of which is severely criticized by many of them.

Finally, it is hoped that in the next week new UN columns will be able to cross the difficult roads of hunger, to place more tons of food in the main population enters.

* Indifference in Luanda

91AF1033B Lisbon *EXPRESSO* in Portuguese
27 Apr 91 p 1

[Article by Gustavo Costa in Luanda]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Luanda is reacting with some reservations to the Congress's activities. The struggle for survival and the black market continue to dominate the attention of the common citizen. “It has been many years of frustrated waiting,” says a FAPLA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] official, justifying the climate of relative indifference. The violent armed confrontations that have broken out daily among the population of Luena, causing almost 500 casualties, and an uncontrolled outbreak of epidemics, is at this time absorbing part of the concerns of Luandans, who do not hide their feelings of incomprehension and revolt at the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] attacks on the civilian population in that region.

In the common citizen's view, it is now beginning to be “not very relevant that the elections might result unfavorably for the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]; what is truly worrying is that UNITA might monopolize the power,” warned an intellectual, a former MPLA supporter.

Although Eduardo dos Santos has not explicitly referred to the issue, the delegates to the congress unleashed an heated debate on public finance. “Corruption is the second greatest national tragedy after the war,” the president recognized some time ago. Some delegates see in this congress the last opportunity to rehabilitate the MPLA's image, through identification and purging of the leaders allegedly involved in cases of corruption. “We should publish a declaration denouncing the scandals that victimize our society, with the name of the leaders involved in them,” said a delegate. [passage omitted]

* UNITA Faces Several Integration Problems

91AF1030B Lisbon *PUBLICO* in Portuguese
1 May 91 p 13

[Article by Vitor Silva in Luanda]

[Text] If everything were settled today between the belligerents in Angola, and the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leaders and militants arriving in Luanda tomorrow, they would have to confront very prosaic problems, beginning with housing and food.

If the UNITA leader, Jeremias Chitunda, were to arrive at the Luanda international airport tomorrow, what would happen? He would certainly be awaited by some sympathizers and, out of cordiality, probably by a few of the adversaries with whom he socialized throughout the lengthy discussions to arrive at a cease-fire.

The authorities would surely put an official vehicle at his disposal but, from the airport, the UNITA vice president would have to head for one of the city's hotels.

Chitunda has no residence in Luanda, nor do any of the members of Jonas Savimbi's movement. In this case, African brotherhood would not be of any benefit, because close relatives of UNITA leaders residing in the Angolan capital are virtually unknown. This is a weighty conditioning factor for the arrival of UNITA members to the center of power in Angola.

The country is experiencing a housing crisis exacerbated by the many years of inactivity in housing construction. Almost all of the properties that were being finished at the time of the Portuguese exodus are still in the same condition. The few that were completed went to foreign companies, which lodge their staffs in them.

With the evolution of the war, the interior cities and countryside were abandoned, and their populations sought greater security near the capital.

At the date of independence, the city of 600,000 inhabitants was already struggling with over-population problems. Now 2 million people are living in Luanda, and families are jostling between all the existing walls. Shantytowns are coming into existence overnight, and the authorities lack the moral strength to demolish them; primarily because the crisis has stricken everyone, not even sparing leaders of the party in power arriving from the provinces.

The residences assigned to officials are occupied by their first owners, who have not vacated them. The crisis is so serious that a recent discussion in Congress of the sale of properties held by the state led the deputies to become enraged, with warnings of "we will return with daggers," or that their houses would be vacated over their "dead bodies." Under debate was the possibility of restoring the properties to their former owners....

UNITA Ex-Owner

A former owner would also appear to be UNITA itself which, in 1974-75, received a building at (No. 75) Avenida dos Combatentes, where it set up its headquarters.

Savimbi's movement could reclaim ownership, but the question raised now concerns who would leave. The government cannot risk proposing administrative evictions and/or force, because the results would be unfavorable for the party in power. Moreover, a possible increase in rents to prompt voluntary vacating of the dwellings by tenants who are unable to pay for them would cause popular discontent, with the natural negative effects on elections.

Jeremias Chitunda might stay at a hotel for a few months until a residence is built for him, or even a shantytown for all his fellow party members. From a strategic standpoint, however, it seems incredible that the UNITA leadership would opt to be gathered in the same shantytown in the city. Moreover, that housing would have to be built on the outskirts. The object of its desire may even be the large dwellings at Alvalade and Miramar.

Nevertheless, UNITA does not consist of its leadership alone. It has tens of thousands of loyal members who have dreamed of entering the capital and taking charge of everything. But the city is far from being the paradise that they had imagined.

In addition to the housing problems, there is the by no means negligible food situation. The food rationing system is in effect in the country. The intention to advance toward a market economy has not yet progressed any further. All the mechanisms for distribution of goods are still centralized, and 90 percent of the food consumed is imported. This is because the national industry is in a constant state of breakdown in supplies, since it is supported by imported raw materials.

The rural areas that should be supplying industry have been mined and deserted, and the alternative is to import.

Will the UNITA members go to obtain ration cards in order to be fed? It is on the parallel market that the citizens usually do so, but for this they must "stretch their purse strings." This means having money or a means of reproducing it.

In Jamba and other localities controlled by UNITA there are no commercial relations. Money does not circulate, and dealing with it changes the people's customs. How much would one of those families have to earn in order to cope with the high cost of living? Is Jonas Savimbi equipped to subsidize salaries for his members? Can the state do so, when there are thousands of workers with wages in arrears? Having money entails working. How will the UNITA members earn their living (discounting the cadres with multiple employment opportunities)?

* Brazilians Help Create MPLA New Image

91AF1030C Lisbon PUBLICO in Portuguese
26 Apr 91 p 19

[Article by Vitor Silva in Luanda]

[Text] The Brazilians who created Collor de Mello's image are providing for the MPLA's [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] "new look." It is a new image formed of both old and new faces, interspersed with much rumor and, in particular, open discussion of problems. Official statistics claim that the number of members is rising.

The atmosphere is cordial in the corridors and halls of 10 de Dezembro Palace in Luanda, where the MPLA's Second Special Congress is under way. Well-known faces mingle with new figures. Former political adversaries are holding friendly chats, now meeting under the same banner.

Even individuals implicated with the opposition have complied with the formal convention of being present.

There are unquestionably people with varied feelings participating in or witnessing the MPLA's transformation from a classist party of a Marxist-Leninist tendency into a front of masses embracing socialism. It is one without demarcated ideological boundaries, but everyone insists on depicting it as close to social democracy.

Also not going unnoticed are certain "new faces" usually accompanying the Angolan television personnel. They are Brazilians assigned to advise Angolan TV on the coverage of the congress, as part of the campaign to promote the new image of the party in power. They are, moreover, the ones responsible for the signs being disseminated throughout the entire city and the bunting decorating the congress hall. This is the "new look" that

the MPLA has entrusted to the people who worked on the campaign of Collor de Mello, the current Brazilian president.

Well versed in the technique of television effects, the Brazilians have succeeded in lending a new tone to the programming of the official TPA [Angolan People's Television]. The latter is the only news organ which, insisting on an unlimited alignment, has remained impervious to the new times.

While the animated debates continue in the assembly halls, during a continuation of the Third Congress held in December, in the corridors the "mujimbo" [gossip] is circulating freely with fertile imagination, in a healthy habit that Angolans have cultivated in recent years. "Mujimbo," in its true sense, means "message," but it soon became distorted, and currently refers to rumor and "fofoca" [gossip], typical of the "speculative talk" that closed societies have always nurtured.

There Will Only Be Rises

Today, "mujimbos" are being "bought and sold" on all sides. At the 10 de Dezembro Palace they are generally associated with who is rising and who is falling, where congresses are involved. This time, however, there will only be rises; and the "falls" will occur only in the case of the military hoping to join the single national army.

The suspense lies in learning the identity of the new candidates for the Central Committee, who will fill the 120 seats that this organ will have after Saturday. But everything is being discussed in the corridors, and there is comment on the most varied topics, such as the "courage" of a delegate who voted alone against approval of the proposed work agenda. He defended reversal of the order, because, in his view, the statutes and program should be defined first, and only then, on that basis, should the political strategy be decided. This runs counter to what is stipulated on the agenda under discussion.

The commission on statutes has already concluded its debates, having come out in favor of retaining the initials MPLA and the party's name. If it is approved at the plenary session due to take place today, the Labor Party will become merely the MPLA, and no longer the MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party].

It was also concluded that there should be a change in the party's slogan, replacing the former "the struggle continues" and "victory is certain" with the new slogan, "peace, liberty, and work." The majority taking part in the debates expressed approval for the position of secretary-general; and there is every indication that Eduardo dos Santos may in fact leave the MPLA at the end of this congress.

He could also remain in the party and be elected a secretary general, a position that will be contested primarily between Dino Matross and Marcolino Moco (see PUBLICO of 24/4).

In the commission on the MPLA program, the discussions will revolve around the abolishment of the death penalty (which received consensus), compliance with compulsory military service, and the policy on cadres. The delegates advocated the abolishment of the death penalty as a prerequisite for respect for human life in a truly democratic society.

Policy of Alliances

The alliances advocated by the MPLA do not include UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], as was made clear by one of the present members of the Politbureau, Domingos Jinga, who is also vice minister of external relations. He claims that UNITA is excluded from any alliance with the MPLA "so long as it is linked to foreign interests." However, he left open the possibility of a political understanding with Jonas Savimbi's group if it "joins the political battle to achieve the desires of the people and national development, and becomes dissociated from external influences."

The MPLA wants its future allies to meet three requirements, namely: defense of the national sovereignty, respect for territorial integrity, and an effort in defense of the people's rights.

A strong alliance is the one being formed with ex-FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola] leaders, who have been seen embracing long-time MPLA militants and will most likely join its new leadership.

The MPLA has grown recently, apparently as a result of its resolve to debate internal issues and those of the nation. Statistical data note that over 10,000 members joined the party during the past four months, and that the number of members currently stands at 75,522. The largest group consists of employed intellectuals, totaling 27,069 members. Workers do not exceed 21.51 percent.

According to official data, the increase in members has occurred almost nationwide, with the exception of Bengo, Huambo, Cunene, Kwanza-Norte and Kwanza-Sul, and Kuando Kubango.

Nevertheless, the times when the MPLA had 110,000 registered members are long gone. This occurred in 1977, before the creation of the Labor Party and the splinter movement headed by Nito Alves. From 1977 to 1980 alone, the MPLA declined to 31,098 members, 49.1 percent of whom were workers.

In the corridors it is commented good-humoredly that the MPLA is not having difficulty registering as a party. It far exceeds the 3,000 signatures required for registration of political parties, based on the political parties law recently passed by the People's Assembly (Parliament).

* Experts Debate Dilemma of Forming One Army

91AF1030A Lisbon PUBLICO in Portuguese
29 Apr 91 p 3

[Text] The merger of the two Angolan armies (that of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and that of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]) is one of the key issues in the peace talks. In an attempt to find a response to many of the questions posed, we listened to members of the Portuguese military with professional experience in Angola during the post-decolonization period.

The establishment of a single army by military from both forces that have been enemies until now, simultaneously with the dissolution of the respective contingents, is still raising all kinds of questions regarding Angola's future after the cease-fire. How can two armies that have, for years, been adversaries in a war theater which, as in the case of all wars, has left a legacy of rancor and revenge brewing, and accounts to be settled, undergo a merger? How can acquired rights, professional rivalry, and ambitions for power be fulfilled? How can housing for those returning, employment for those demobilized, and reinstatement in civilian society be ensured for persons who have, in thousands of instances, been in the army for 10 years or longer? What is the criterion for choosing some and excluding others? How can implementation of the agreements made at the negotiating table be assured? In short, how can the past be forgotten and weapons be converted for peaceful purposes, including those in the hands of civilians? No one today can guarantee a response for these questions.

* Potentially Explosive

Vasco Lourenco, a colonel in the Portuguese reserves, has remained a regular observer of the situation in Angola. He begins by remarking: "The reunion of the two armies is potentially explosive." But there is another equally ineludible reality: "Everyone in Angola is by now tired of the war." And there is a political decision to put an end to it: "I think that these two factors could, with tact, and despite the difficulties, prevail over the past." He admits: "Paradoxical though it may seem, things may perhaps prove easier at the outset"; adding: "In my opinion, the major problem in the process of establishing a single army is the risk of backsliding with the passage of time. All of a sudden, the fuse could ignite with no one perceiving very clearly how and why. Hence, the two sides should concern themselves with creating conditions to prevent old conflicts from taking precedence, and jeopardizing the merger. And they must find the means for doing this."

Colonel Eduardo Abreu, another observer who has followed the Angolan situation, corroborates this view, giving a reminder that, at the time of the Alvor accords, 15 years ago, a first attempt to establish a single army degenerated into civil war. "My prediction is that it will

prove extremely difficult. However, the political pressures for pacification and war-weariness are very intense on both sides. And this fact could change, if not everything, at least something."

Brigadier Pezarat Correia, a military man also currently in the reserves, is well acquainted with the Angolan conflict. In his opinion, the importance of the political factors and the satiety with war is "relative"; hence, detracting from their decisive influence for peace. Nevertheless, he admits that they could play a favorable role: "More important than this is the negotiators' good faith, and the way in which they will or will not act in accordance with what they have accepted at the negotiating table. At present, we are witnessing (and will continue to witness) attempts to win hegemony that would enable each of the contenders to obtain a better position for the electoral contest. The time remaining before elections are held is very short, especially if we consider the fact that this is a society that is highly radicalized, without democratic experience and, to top it off, marked by large areas of tribal influence, with charismatic chiefs."

In his view, the only solution for surmounting the difficulties is the one that has been rejected by both sides. "In other words," Pezarat Correia notes, "the total demobilization of both armies, and their replacement by a thorough recruitment, with subsequent training and leadership of recruits assigned to exempted cadres."

In the absence of this possibility he still considers "the lesser evil" to be that of subjecting the single army training process to the oversight of a neutral authority. And he adds: "Preferably, the United Nations."

* Opposition Groups Debate Private Enterprise

91AF1030D Lisbon PUBLICO in Portuguese
25 Apr 91 p 15

[Text] The role of the state and of private enterprise in a pacified Angola brought together in Lisbon yesterday, for the first time, representatives of the leading Angolan unarmed political forces active inside the country. Present were Justino Pinto de Andrade, of the Angolan Civic Association (ACA), Assis Malaquias, of the Angolan Democratic Forum (FDA), and Gaspar Neto, president of the Angolan Social Democratic Party (PSDA). The MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], and the FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola] did not send representatives.

Justino Pinto de Andrade made the case for an economic policy capable of combining free enterprise with a state intervention concentrated on particular sectors: "In countries like Angola (...) the state must assume responsibility for the creation of the main infrastructures."

Assis Malaquias, a young dissident from UNITA settled in Canada, where he is a university professor, expressed

the opposite opinion: "We have total confidence in the individual as an economic actor. The state is usually a poor manager of the national patrimony." The PSDA leader preferred to underscore the need for Angola to recover its national cadres abroad, and to pursue a market economy system.

Mozambique

Government, Renamo Sign Accord on Working Agenda

MB2805203091 London BBC World Service in English
1850 GMT 28 May 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] After a major hiccup, the Rome talks between Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels and the Mozambique Government are poised to get under way again. They were suspended on 10 May over (?quarrels) about the agenda, and it looked as though no more progress would be made. However, now it seems there has been something of a breakthrough at the Santo Egidio Community where the talks have been going on. Ruth Forby asked Joule Dekter in Rome what had happened.

[Begin recording] [Dekter] Well, what they managed to come up with was an agreement on what they will be able to talk about. It is the first step. Nobody says that this is an agreement, but people are very optimistic here from the Santo Egidio Community. The major issues that they will discuss in terms of the military will be the formation of an apolitical army. They will discuss the size and recruitment criteria. They will discuss the [words indistinct] of regular army groups. They will discuss the depoliticization of the police and the [words indistinct] of the military who decide to leave the military. They will discuss the ways to end the military hostilities, operations that would lead to a cease-fire, and how the cease-fire should be supervised. Another thing they will discuss will be laws on political parties, electoral laws and civil rights laws, the release of certain detainees—political detainees—and a way to allow for the return of refugees. They will also be talking about the guarantees that are needed in all these above operations.

[Forby] So, basically, they have actually... [pauses] they finally agreed on an agenda?

[Dekter] That is it. They have agreed on what they will talk about. Previously, they had not even come to that point.

[Forby] Did you manage to find out whether it was Renamo that actually won the day and got things on the agenda that they have been asking for? Who won this particular round?

[Dekter] The people at Santo Egidio who I spoke to will not put it that way. They want to say that both sides

came to an agreement, and it is a positive step on both sides. They will not say that any side has [words indistinct].

[Forby] So, what is going to happen? Are they going to start formally again. Are all the people who were doing the talks before [words indistinct] what is happening next?

[Dekter] Well, the signatories of today's ... [pauses] it was a formal ceremony this evening. Today's signatories were the two men who led the two different groups in the beginning: Emilio Guebuza for the Frelimo group and Domingos for Renamo. They were at the signing today, and they have been here and they plan on staying...

[Forby, interrupts] From the people you managed to speak to, were they all relieved that they had got over this particular blockage?

[Dekter] Oh yes, they see this as a very positive sign. They see the talks now will start going ahead and they seem to think that this the point of future peace. [end recording]

Attack by 'Armed Bandits' Violates Rome Accord

MB2805114691 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Armed bandits ambushed a vehicle on national highway No. 6 on May 26 in the Beira corridor, which is covered by the Rome accord signed between the Mozambican Government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance].

Our Chimoio correspondent says that the attack occurred in the Nhangonda region, near the town of Gondola, in Manica Province. The vehicle, a minibus [preceding word in English], was carrying passengers from Beira to Chimoio. The source added that the criminals used light weapons, but no casualties have been reported.

* World Bank Finances Imports of Korean Taxis

91AF1041C Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
24 Apr 91 p 3

[text] Forty vehicles have been imported from South Korea for use as rural taxis. Purchased with World Bank financing estimated at \$1 million, the vehicles should arrive in the country in July or August.

Amade Camal, administrator of Sir Motors, an automotive import firm, told our reporter that the taxis will make connections between the cities and the districts.

He stressed that the vehicles would be placed basically in areas with the greatest concentration of people.

Camal said that last November a South Korean automobile manufacturer maintained contacts in Seoul with Sir

Motors, culminating in the establishment of an agreement that Sir Motors would be the company's agent in Mozambique and Swaziland.

Two vehicles manufactured by the automotive company, known as "Sangg Yong," are already here in the country, undergoing testing on our terrain.

"The vehicles are designed for all type of roads and the two that are in the country now were financed by the company. The World Bank has made financing available for the other 40 vehicles," Amade Camal said.

Through contracts established between the two parties, Mozambican technicians will be trained in South Korea, as part of the technical assistance.

* Red Cross Active in Renamo-Held Areas

91AF1041A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
24 Apr 91 p 1

[Text] Since January of this year, the International Committee of the Red Cross (CICV) has assisted more than 35,000 needy citizens who live in zones "where the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] is present" in Sofala and Zambezia provinces, this newspaper learned yesterday from Marco Weil, adjutant representative of the CICV in Mozambique.

The regions benefiting from the CICV's humanitarian action are Canxixe, in Maringue District, and Panja and Magunde, in Chibabava District, Sofala Province; and Tacuane, in Lugela District, Zambezia Province.

An estimated 150,000 people are currently living in the above-mentioned four zones.

Direct assistance to the civilians isolated by the armed conflict was resumed in January by air, pursuant to an agreement regarding CICV activity in Mozambique; the agreement was reached in the Italian capital in December 1990, as part of the third round of negotiations among representatives of the CICV, the Mozambican Government, and the Renamo.

In that agreement, the Mozambican Government and the Renamo confirmed the CICV's authorization to continue its activity in support of the Mozambican people, whoever they are and wherever they may be.

According CICV adjutant representative Marco Weil, his organization conducts two types of activity—namely, humanitarian assistance and health programs—in these four regions.

The purpose of reactivating the health centers in the zones "where the Renamo is present" is to train health agents from among the civilians affected by the war, instructing them in the treatment of such basic ailments as diarrhea and conjunctivitis.

In the first three months of this year, within the framework of this health program, CICV nurses trained 60 health agents in these zones "where the Renamo is present."

To conduct these activities, our source said, the CICV has a two-person team in each of the four benefited zones. These teams spend about three weeks with the affected civilian populations. In addition to providing support, the teams educate the people about international humanitarian rights and the principles of the Red Cross.

According to Marco Weil, the CICV would have assisted more people if it were not for logistical problems. Because of the lack of public transportation, cars, and bicycles in the zones "where the Renamo is present," the CICV personnel travel great distances in the conduct of their work and this impedes the action of the humanitarian organization, particularly bearing in mind that the settlements in these regions are very far from one another.

Marco Weil said that, in an evaluation conducted before the initiation of activities, it was concluded that support to the isolated and affected civilians should consist primarily in the provision of clothing and blankets, because they do not have access to manufactured products. He added that the other basic component of this aid is food, but distribution has not commenced yet.

"So far, we have had good cooperation from the Mozambican Government and the Renamo in conducting our activities," said the CICV adjutant representative in Mozambique.

In other zones, the CICV collaborates with the Mozambican Red Cross in assisting people victimized by the war and in transmitting messages to and from Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe and Malawi.

Other Activities

In addition to the relief work among the people, the CICV conducts other activities, such as the protection of prisoners of war, the settlement of displaced people, the exchange of messages among relatives, and the production of prostheses.

Last year, for example, the humanitarian organization visited 600 prisoners in 19 civilian prisons throughout the country.

In cases of urgent need, the CICV provides the prisoners with material and medical assistance, recreational equipment, and food. Some days ago, the civilian prisons in the country received 20 tons of food products.

Marco Weil said that, in cooperation with the Health Ministry, the CICV created four orthopedic workshops in the cities of Maputo, Beira, Quelimane, and Nampula, which have produced an average of 65 prostheses, 170 crutches, and several wheelchairs per month.

"We are happy to be able to carry out the humanitarian mission here and Mozambique and we hope to expand our activities to other isolated zones," Marco Weil concluded.

*** Need To Develop Local Entrepreneurs Discussed**

91AF1041E Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
26 Apr 91 p 1

[Excerpt] Inocencio Matavele, president of the Industrial Association of Mozambique (AIMO) said Wednesday that, after the radical changes that have taken place in the country's politics, it is necessary to build a "Mozambican business community."

Inocencio Matavele was speaking at the headquarters of the Portuguese Industrial Association (AIP) in Lisbon, during a conference on "Portuguese-Mozambican business cooperation," the culmination of a week's visit by the AIMO delegation in Portugal.

"The formation of a Mozambican business community is essential, to adapt the country's political liberalization, with the multiparty system, to an economic liberalization in the sense of installing a true market economy in Mozambique," he said.

Opening the session, Mario Seca, vice president of the AIP, recalled the "excellent" relations between the two industrial associations, which date from 1989, when a cooperation protocol was signed, later confirmed with the visit by an AIP delegation to Mozambique in 1990 and now strengthened with the presence of the AIMO mission in Portugal.

Mario Seca said that business relations between Portugal and Mozambique are on a good path, one in which priority has been given to Portuguese investment in various forms, including the formation of companies with mixed capital and professional training programs.

The problem of peace and its importance for the expansion of business relations were also noted by Mario Seca.

In this regard, Incencio Matavele said that "negative factors may at times foster business development, since there is less competition and reduced costs."

The AIMO president made an appeal for foreign investment, namely, by Portuguese companies, and spoke of the "lightening of the bureaucratic burden" that has occurred in Mozambique with the new law of foreign investment.

"Mozambique is giving priority to actions aimed to rehabilitate the industrial units. It is necessary to rehabilitate the industrial park, to modernize and expand it," he said.

"We are very impressed with the strides that Portugal has made since 1974 in the area of industrial development, which we saw in the companies that we visited in the north of the country. This characteristic of Portugal,

of wedding state-of-the-art technology and intermediate technology, is needed in Mozambique," Matavele added.

He considered that the goal of expanding business relations with his Portuguese colleagues was being fulfilled, and that there were very important prospects for cooperation.

Nine Mozambican and 33 Portuguese companies took part in the conference. Four of the Mozambican firms are headquartered in Beira City. [passage omitted]

*** Portugal Launches Rural Development Projects**

91AF1041F Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
13 Apr 91 p 3

[Text] The Program for the Integrated Development of Chokwe and Limpopo, in Gaza Province, should be carried out this year; the objective is to obtain greater yields from the soil, by mechanizing the system of irrigation and cultivation.

The program is financed by Portugal, in the amount of 8 million escudos.

As DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE reported, citing Portuguese engineer Rui Ribeiro da Silva, the program was recommended in 1989 by Mozambican and Portuguese delegations, which designed the project that will result in the diversified and efficient exploitation of the above-mentioned agricultural regions.

In a first phase, the program provides for the establishment of a mechanized irrigation system similar to the one installed in Chokwe during the last years of the Portuguese colonization.

In addition, there are plans to improve the soil, particularly in Chokwe, to obtain better yields of rice and other grains.

According to Engineer Rio Ribeiro, who was recently on a working visit to our country, the execution of the integrated project in these two agricultural regions in Gaza Province will result in an immediate increase of more than 40 percent in grain production.

The plan to recover the two agricultural complexes also includes the production of forage and the installation of a system of stabling for the cattle herd, to achieve parallel development in the agricultural and livestock sectors.

It is noted that the purpose of the combined rehabilitation of the agricultural and livestock sectors is the efficient reconstitution of the herd in the province, through the production of feed and the introduction of livestock management techniques in the family and private sectors.

* Nipepe Cut Off From Rest of Niassa Province

91AF1041D Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
25 Apr 91 p 3

[Text] The authorities in Nipepe District, in the south-eastern part of Niassa Province, are struggling with a growing number of inhabitants in an "emergency situation," primarily because of the war of destabilization waged by the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance].

Niassa is in northern Mozambique; it is the largest and also the least populated province.

According to official sources, about 13,742 people, residents of Nipepe District, are in an emergency situation because of the war and the natural disasters that are affecting that part of Mozambique.

"The constant attacks by Renamo members against the principal productive zones, including the district seat, have seriously hampered the distribution of emergency supplies to the district," Silva Timo, Nipepe District administrator, told the Mozambican press agency AIM.

Because the bridges were destroyed between Nipepe and Lichinga, the province capital, and the other districts, the emergency supplies for this district can only be shipped in by air.

As in the case of Maua, the last civilian vehicles traveled on the road to Nipepe in 1985, when the Renamo activities reached their peak.

As a result of the Renamo actions, the population is now concentrated in the environs of the district seat, which is an arid zone, but one considered to be minimally secure.

At this time, according to the administrator, it is possible to travel within a radius of 15 km around Nipepe, the area patrolled by the local forces.

The last Renamo attack against the district seat occurred on 8 March.

A military source, who asked not to be identified, said that at least 20 members of the Renamo had been killed by the Mozambican Army during the attempted occupation.

"In addition to the casualties that we inflicted on the enemy, we captured two 'bazookas' and other war material," the speaker told the AIM, adding that a B-10 rocket launcher, capable of firing missiles a distance of 10 km, had also been destroyed. According to the same source, the Renamo killed two civilians during the attack.

Administrator Silva Timo said that on 10 January 1989, the Renamo attacked the district seat, which is located about 270 km from Cuamba District, in southern Niassa Province, and occupied it for eight days.

He added that during the 1989 attack, the Renamo murdered more than 40 people, including women, children, and elderly people, and destroyed all the buildings in the

district seat, including the administrative offices, commercial establishments, a school, and the health center.

The Renamo is also preventing the people from farming in the fertile areas, constantly launching attacks against villages located more than 15 km from the district seat, and stealing the meager crops of the people in these areas.

"We do not know what the Renamo wants, because it will not let us grow crops in fertile zones and often makes off with our hoes, machetes, and scythes. When we manage to produce a little bit in the arid zones where we are forced to live, they come and attack us," said Luis Mota.

Mota, aged 40, has two wives and five children. In the current agricultural campaign, he was only able to harvest corn, which he said would be eaten up in two months.

Asked what he would do when the corn ran out, he bowed his head and said: "I do not know."

He is now preparing some beds where he will plant cassava, for consumption in 1992.

He has been living for two years in one of the neighborhoods on the outskirts of the district seat. He left his native area because of the Renamo attacks.

"In my native area, about 20 km from the district seat, I could produce enough to last the whole year, but now we are forced to live in arid zones."

In addition to the war, the weather is aggravating the situation in Nipepe and in the province as a whole. In the 1990/1991 agricultural campaign, the rain was late in coming. The people planted seed three times without success.

"When the rain did come, many people did not have the seed for the principal crops grown in the districts: corn, sorghum, 'nhemba' beans, and peanuts," the administrator said.

He added: "The solidarity among the peasants, who shared what little seed remained, was of great value. Anyone who had a little seed offered some to his neighbor who had none, so it was possible to cultivate some small plots."

As if this were not enough, the administrator said, after the crops germinated, a plague of grasshoppers appeared and ate up everything on the farms.

During the visit to Nipepe, we spoke with several residents who told us about their suffering because of the isolation experienced by Niassa Province, primarily because of the war.

According to a health worker in the district seat, many children have died of diarrhea and measles. "We do not have statistics, because the mothers seldom bring their babies to the health post, even though the service is free," he said.

We saw men and women dressed in rags that covered only the most private parts of their bodies, mothers with babies and nothing to protect them from the cold during the nights.

People in Nipepe are surviving on donations. There is only one commercial establishment in operation, recovered from the ruins of the Renamo attack and occupation in 1989. The store only sells clothing donated by the international community.

Next to the store is a shop, but on that occasion the shelves were empty.

According to Lino Assimo, "I have sold soap, salt, matches, buttons, needles, razor blades, and batteries, when I can get them.

"It is hard to do business here, because of the insecurity and the lack of contact with the province capital and the other districts."

Lino Assimo said that he charges 3,500 meticals for a bar of soap, 2,000 meticals for a battery, and 300 meticals for a razor blade. These articles are acquired in Nampula and Cabo Delgado provinces and brought on foot to Nipepe. The distance is more than 200 km.

"Despite everything, there are adventurous souls who manage to travel about 150 km in three nights; it is risky to travel by day because you could fall into the hands of the Renamo and be killed," recounted a resident.

But it is not just the "Renamo disaster." "A person can also be picked up by units of our Armed Forces on suspicion and be beaten," the speaker told us, reciting a litany of sorrows.

* Gile District Undergoes Reconstruction

91AF1041B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
24 Apr 91 p 3

[Text] Most of the buildings in the town seat of Gile District, in northern Zambezia Province, which were destroyed during the two years in which members of the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] occupied the locale, have already been rebuilt, our reporter learned on a recent visit to the region. Among the restored buildings are those in the health, education, and administrative sectors, and commercial establishments. According to Robert Nuno, district administrator, the Renamo occupation of the zone began in October 1986 and ended in July 1988, with the intervention of special units of the Mozambican Army.

"When we got here after the Armed Forces recovered the town, everything was destroyed; there was not a single

building where we could install ourselves," said the administrator of Gile District, which is located more than 200 km north of Quelimane City, as the crow flies.

In fact, anyone who arrives today in the district seat can easily perceive what took place there some three years ago. In the upper part of the town, what had once been buildings is still rubble; the Renamo did not simply destroy roofs and walls, but various other infrastructures that would enable the region's administrative apparatus and services to function.

The Gile district administrator explained that immediately after the town was liberated, "we had to improvise places where we could put the administration and services in operation while we were waiting for conditions to improve."

According to the speaker, the runway of the local airfield had not only been mined; the Renamo forces had dug new holes in it and had created great ridges, "completely ruining the runway."

After the Army engineers had deactivated the mines, the runway had to be repaired. The administrator reported that, up to November 1988, only helicopters could land in Gile; after then, small planes could also land, bringing emergency supplies for the affected population.

The restoration of the buildings that had been destroyed and the construction of new ones, particularly in the lower zone of the town, became one of the priorities of the local administration. Thus, buildings were erected to house the district maternity hospital, the infirmaries, and health services, as well as the administrative services and the headquarters of the Frelimo party and of the OMM [Organization of Mozambican Women]. The new buildings were constructed with conventional and local materials; the District Office of Education is functioning in one of them.

Normality

During the hours we spent in Gile, we observed that, for the inhabitants in the area of the town seat, life is returning to normal. The daily routine of the residents is broken only by the arrival of one or another small plane from Quelimane, which usually bring clothing and food to Gile.

This return to normal life is explained by the fact that in recent times there have been no Renamo attacks in that region. Thus, since there are no security problems, some cantinas have also been set up to sell alcoholic beverages, from beer and "Enika" brandy to homemade brews. The price of beer ranges from 1,500 to 2,000 meticals, while the brandy can be bought for 8,000 meticals.

We also learned that a pavilion which is used on weekdays by members of the local association of tailors and dressmakers is converted into a discotheque on weekends.

In the area adjacent to the pavilion, members of the association of shoemakers, carpenters, and radio repairmen engage in their trade during the day.

The local market, a large area without stands or any other type of infrastructure, functions between the alcoholic beverage stalls set up there. On the day we visited the locale, there were a half dozen vendors, selling nothing but peanuts and articles of clothing.

The Gile district administrator stressed that the security situation had improved substantially, since "the people can circulate freely within the district."

He said that there had been good rainfall this year and the people who had been privileged to receive seeds "will have something to eat from their own farm plots."

He reported that most of the inhabitants of Gile who had been living in neighboring Pebane District because of the war had already returned and a majority of the displaced people who had been in Nampula had also returned to Gile.

According to the administrator, the population census conducted in 1980 indicated that about 97,000 people were living in the district. One year after the liberation of the region from the Renamo, the data indicated that about 71,000 people were living in the zone. Recent statistics for Gile indicate a total population of 100,000.

Gile District covers an area of about 8,875 sq km. According to Roberto Nuno, it is about 400 km, by land, from Quelimane City if you take one road, or about 500 km by a different road. However, the Gile administrator said, neither road is in use, since Renamo members destroyed the bridges along both roads, so the district has no ground link with Quelimane.

The only passable road links the district with Nampula Province. It is about 200 km from the Gile District seat to Nampula city. From Ligonha, a locale in the district, to Nampula City, it is about 100 km. As we learned, supplies shipped by land reach Gile via Nampula Province.

* Commentaries: Concern Over Ethnic Tensions

* National Polarization

91AF1046A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
24 Apr 91 p 1

[Commentary by Luis Jose Loforte]

[Text] Before the dawn of national independence I was too young to assess the problems that tribalism can cause. Yet today, I admit that discussing the features of tribalism in our independent country is no easy task. It is even more difficult when people accuse others without having equated the problem in terms of overall development imbalances in southern Africa as a whole. Those viewing the problem from the standpoint of coastal and interior regional asymmetry are more serious than those disputing in public with the tribe. They must at least

understand that the provinces against which many have drawn their swords will prove as little developed as, or possibly even less so than some presumably backward provinces (in the central and northern parts of the country). They must also understand the reason that most of their populations have emigrated to the development enclaves located in Beira and Maputo, "running the risk" of prospering there, like other Mozambicans: the secretaries, perhaps because of their notorious reluctance to open their purse strings, and those from Gaza, perhaps because of their no less widely reputed voluntarism and...boldness! Finally, they must understand, because they would not confuse people with provinces, that it was the regional development enclaves, even during colonial times (many refuse to admit this today), in all of northern and central Mozambique, that prompted nurses, administrators, teachers, and all sorts of government officials, comprising a majority, to come from the south, and many, such as I, for example, to be trained by their parents to make those provinces their second homelands and to assimilate their culture, also establishing families in them. Today, owing to the tribalist syndrome, they are almost being kicked around (I curse the one who did that to me in Cabo Delgado!). However, to accuse Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front], at least in this regard, shows a lack of stringency in the analysis; although I admit that a "delinquency grade" could be given to it for certain aspects linked to the problem of resolving the asymmetries. But let us be reasonable, "judging" it for these "crimes" after they have been cited.

Since the tribes are immense (for the cultural benefit of the Mozambican people), it would, understandably, be impossible to represent them on the central government structural level of a country. Nevertheless, regionalization (this is my basic proposal) would bring balance, first to the government, and later to structural development. We have not equated this, and so we have succumbed to the illusory figment of tribal power parities. We have also been acting (and this is unseen only by those who refuse to see or have no interest in seeing) based on the view that it would suffice to summon the Makua or the Nyanja tribe to the top gallery here, or the Ajawa, the Ndau, or the Bitonga tribe to the stage there, or the Maconde, the Manhandia, or the Chuabo tribe to the speaker's platform. It has not worked, and has been a political palliative. It has been as false a "solution" as being a Turk!

However, when the situation is viewed clearly, this has even "worked" for certain "historicals," and never for the tribes on behalf of which they dispute and are granted perpetual representative status; because they have become immovable, and are the heaviest economic burden on Mozambican society, itself lacking in resources, since they spend everything at the state's expense. They even consider it natural to send to the public exchequer or treasury the bills for their personal and expenses. These may include a wedding (something

that only one's own toil entitles one to afford as a luxury), or even an anniversary. At the same time, no priority is being given to any investments, or means and factors of production, of a national type. This is where the leadership forces are "to blame," because they have not cultivated among many high-ranking officials, apart from their respectability, the philosophy that the effort of a society organized as a state entitles that society alone to take advantage of it, and not exclusively those leading it. This is why the Mozambican state is largest debtor on the domestic market, with all the consequences stemming from this. While the budgets of the central or provincial state agencies do not suffice to meet normal requirements, with the "historicals" spending they are not even....flexible!

But the strongest argument against the "groundless" tribal imbalances in governing lies in the fact that many of those "contending" with the tribe are on countless occasions contradictory in their daily actions. We go to the provinces of supposedly forgotten tribes and do not find on the market the items most typical of their production, such as peanuts, potatoes, or wood; because, as we are told in those localities, just to quote an old Macua who is a friend of mine: "N'teke ni paketi athu olupale nasimbwanaya anapakhira othene urwana Maputo" (planes and ships belonging to important people and their friends take everything to... Maputo). They do not even transport chalk to the educational center there. When they have money, they invest it in kiosks, in the city of...Maputo; and they forget what is necessary in the area: a private school, a small sawmill, or a restaurant!

Finally, contrary to all expectations, contrary to the hope based on presumed rights, with so much animosity, impropriety, and invective against Mozambicans just because they come from the south, as if they were colonists, the south ends up becoming rich! In fact, the tribe has become an "amasser of wealth," an instrument for an almost institutionalized embezzlement in Mozambique. They are tribes of our disenchantment, of our discontent.

* Fear Over 'Hidden' Tribalism

91AF1046B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
18 Apr 91 p 1

[Commentary by Francisco Rodolfo]

[Text] Recently, an old friend brought me the Portuguese newspapers A BOLA, EXPRESSO and PUBLICO, among others.

Oddly enough, it is on an article that appeared in the newspaper PUBLICO, No. 369, of 8 March, entitled "Lisbon Becomes a City of Blacks Again," written by Fernando da Costa, that I shall rely in the introduction to this commentary.

The writer for the newspaper PUBLICO begins by stating: "At the end of the 1970's black and mestizo

populations began entering Lisbon again, spreading with increasing effects that have changed it, revitalizing its complexion." He later remarks: "The city and various parts of the country are currently experiencing situations very similar to those at the end of the 16th century."

Throughout the article, quoting various prominent figures, Fernando da Costa claims that the Portuguese people, owing to their adventurous nature (the Portuguese have been disseminated throughout the world since the age of discovery), coexist with people of color without hesitation or alarm.

He digresses, however, claiming that, "Salazar and Cerejeira, contradicting our historical and cultural tradition, proved to be remarkably racist figures." In the view of the former Council president, the whites themselves born in the ex-colonies were "second-class whites," and were subjected to "degrading discrimination." On the other hand, "according to the former cardinal, blacks were nothing but disorganized human beings, whose heredity dissolved morality and character, with souls open to anything demeaning, and harmful elements for any society."

In the opinion of many good people the problem of racism in Mozambique is a thing of the past. Nevertheless, our country was quite recently shocked by reports, arriving from the ex-GDR [German Democratic Republic], revealing that neo-Nazi groups were murdering or stoning Mozambicans.

Strangely enough, after having started this article, because I am writing at 1700 on 13 April (it seems to me that the 13th is really a lucky day), I have just heard on the RM [Radio Mozambique] news broadcast at 1600 that, in Berlin, the ex-GDR capital, a mass was celebrated in honor of a Mozambican who was killed and then thrown from the window of a train. This cries out to heaven at the height of the 20th century!

I have relatives who have returned from the ex-GDR or, as Maputans call them, "majarmani," or "meerdeanos," as they are called by Beirans. They forcefully maintain that they lived very well during the period preceding the events in the East, and even claim that there was no racism.

Personally, I do not believe that people are not racist or tribalist in one way or another. The fact is that, for example, in the countries that are or were pursuing the Marxist, Communist, or Socialist route (however you want to classify them), with a press under the control of a single party, manifestations of racism and tribalism do not or would not come to light. They were or are apparently repressed, through all means.

In this respect, we Mozambicans are not an exception. The Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] party strove to eliminate racism and tribalism in the country. It was a priority objective to create the fatherland, and then to create the nation. This was achieved to a great

extent, even though the process of forming the nation was complex and took years.

Yet we must be cautious, because the worst may be yet to come....

With the multiparty system established, and if there is peace, Mozambicans may pay too dearly in connection with this problem of racism and tribalism. I shall explain why:

The author of this article worked consecutively after 1974 in Gaza, Maputo, Inhambane, Niassa, and Tete Provinces, returning to Maputo in 1990. Because of the nature of his duties, he traveled constantly to Cabo Delgado and Nampula, when he was stationed in Lichinga (Niassa), and to Zambezia, Sofala, and Manica, when he was in Imbondeiro country.

I admit, for example, that I was never discriminated against by the populations of Mavago and Cuamba where, owing to my inherent duties, I was a member of the provincial government to deal with those districts (1979-81). However, in the provincial capital (Lichinga), all of us who were born in the southern region of Mozambique were "cooperants." It is incomprehensible to me: a cooperant is or was a person from the south.

In Tete the situation was identical: the term cooperants refers to those not from that town. Furthermore, take note that it was not the population that was calling us cooperants. It was a certain class, in some instances with good standing, and often holding positions in the party and government. And this state of hostility tended to

worsen when it was intended to hold elections; that is, during the electoral process.

I would call this latent racism and tribalism! It is not coincidental that there have been recent disclosures of the "domination" of the north by the south. They are called "southerners"!

The events in the USSR (involving Lithuanians and other nationalities) seeking autonomy, and the situation of the Shiites, Kurds, Sunnites, and Arabs fighting in Iraq, as in Roman times (with the sole difference that now the weapons are more sophisticated, more fatal, and electronically discharged), are enlightening examples of the fact that "latent" racism and tribalism can be used to advantage by certain "politicians" to attain their goals. I cited the example of the ex-GDR and the USSR, not to mention neighboring South Africa.

What is occurring nowadays with the "ex-GDRs" could happen to the Mozambicans or Africans who are in Portugal if, for example, there were a massive return of Portuguese who are in South Africa to their native land. Portugal would not be able to withstand a colony, like the Portuguese community in South Africa, because with the uncertainty over the political future of South Africa, events could be precipitated, contrary to all predictions from the best analysts. The fact is that, during recent times, nothing has been predictable in the realm of politics. Events in the USSR, the East European countries, Iraq, and even many African countries, suffice as evidence of this.

We must be prepared for changes, but people must no longer be set against other people to achieve power!

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